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GENETICS: RE-DOING MAN

Kurt Hirschhorn

LETTER FROM A SAIGON JAIL

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Another skirmish in the battle to quicken social consciences within the giant Methodist Publishing House (gross sales nearing $40,000,000).

James R. McGraw has charged in *Christianity and Crisis* that locker rooms at Nashville headquarters of Methodist Publishing House are, in effect, segregated; that MPH is anti-union; that it is unwilling to support Project Equality.

Lovick Pierce, MPH president and publisher, countered at the Methodist General Conference in Dallas that MPH does not discriminate; that it is neither for nor against unions (it has merely "tried to preserve a climate of freedom for employees to make their own choice"); and that it regrets the apparent antagonism toward Project Equality, but MPH attorneys advised that support of Project Equality might cause a violation of the law.

Besides, said Pierce, there is much "burdensome" paper work involved with Project Equality. Groans all round. Later, action. The Conference voted creation of a 17-member committee to investigate charges against the MPH.

In other areas Conference action was also positive and decisive.

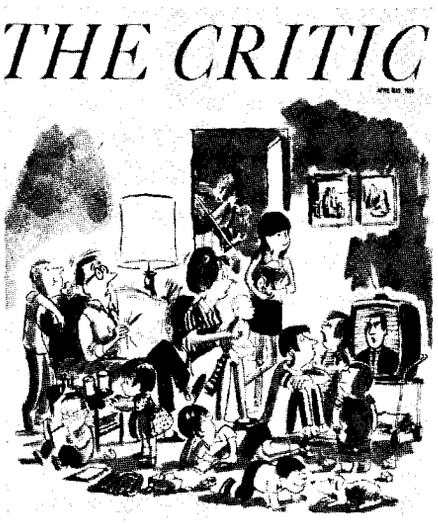
The Methodist Board of Missions won support of its decision to remove a $10 million investment portfolio from the First National City Bank of New York in protest over the bank's renewal of a loan to the government of South Africa. And the initiation of a $20 million "fund for reconciliation" of the new United Methodist Church (result of the merger of the Methodist and Evangelical United Brethen Churches) took the form of a Commission on Religion and Race budgeted at $700,000.

In addition to speeding integration within the 11 million-member denomination, the commission will coordinate Church support and cooperation "with various prophetic movements for racial and social justice." Fair enough.

•

The Critic reports a surprising pick-up in the Catholic press of its cover-sketch showing parents of a large family startled by the words of a TV announcer: "Today, a long awaited announcement from the Vatican!"

The sketch has been widely reproduced by papers serving dioceses where



"Today, a long-awaited announcement from the Vatican!"

a short time ago even the gentlest of spoofing in the area of birth control would have been anathema. The *Pittsburgh Catholic*, for instance, carried the cartoon, and the *Catholic Standard and Times* of Philadelphia spread it across four columns. And none less than *Our Sunday Visitor* ran it in its national edition.

All of which adds evidence to how settled the birth control question is even in official circles. When the diocesan press can relax with a bit of birth control humor, change isn't coming. It's here.

•

Navy Chief of Chaplains, Rear Admiral James W. Kelly, counsels the churches of America to consult with its chaplains in judging the morality of the war in Vietnam. Then Chaplain Kelly gives an idea of the counsel the churches could expect:

"If participation in any war could ever be termed humane, the combination of America's altruistic motives, her policy of restraint, her willingness at any time to negotiate, and her genuinely selfless humanitarian activities among the Vietnamese people make our part in this one decidedly so."

Chaplain Kelly, a Southern Baptist, spoke at a meeting of the Associated Church Press in Washington. Earlier he told students and faculty at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth that there is a "God-centered morality about our involvement" in the Vietnam war. *Christian Century* set the quote in its "No Comment Department."

•

The National Conference of Catholic Charities has joined with four Jewish, Protestant and civil rights groups in a brief urging the Supreme Court to outlaw residency requirements for welfare cases seeking federally-sponsored relief.

The brief supports lower court decisions invalidating the residency requirements of Connecticut, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia. It argues:

"Government cannot bargain with the poor so as to buy up basic rights of citizenship in exchange for the necessities of life.

"Residency requirements in effect take from the poor the right to travel, the right to make the most of job opportunity and freedom to associate with relatives and loved ones."

Welfare residency requirements are ostensibly aimed at those who move to a new location in order to get higher welfare payments.

But, as the brief points out, residency requirements have the concurrent effect of penalizing the family looking for work and those who come to the state having a job which ends for reasons beyond the individual's control.

"The good are thus punished in order to get to the few bad," the brief holds. "This blunderbuss technique is not constitutionally permissible . . ."

A good point on a challenge which should extend to the welfare system across the country, in order to bring about badly needed upgrading and coordination of welfare services.

JOHN DEEDY

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LETTER FROM A SAIGON JAIL

TRUONG DINH DZU

Mr. Dzu smuggled the following letter out of jail and it was then smuggled out of Vietnam to the United States. Mr. Dzu was suddenly released from jail in mid-April, after he and other political prisoners had gone on a hunger strike. At the end of the month, suffering from chest pains, he entered the hospital. While there, the police rearrested him for having publicly advocated a coalition government in Saigon, as outlined in this letter. THE EDITORS

I am again a political prisoner, confined "for my own protection" for the second time since March. Nevertheless, I can no longer remain silent on the course of events in Vietnam.

From the beginning, President Johnson has known that the war could end only through negotiations; expert opinion concurs that the war must be solved politically. Hanoi, for its part, has also taken some decisive moves toward peace, and by the end of last year was declaring that peace talks "will" take place if the bombing stopped. That declaration of willingness has been translated into some tentative moves toward the negotiating table. The NLF has also indicated its willingness to begin negotiations in its statements to Mr. Fanfani in Rome and in statements by its Paris representatives.

Thus far the biggest obstacle to peace is the negative attitude of President Thieu's government. During the electoral campaign in August, 1967, President Thieu told the press, when asked about my program for peace, that he was ready to meet with representatives of the NLF. However, this willingness was reversed after his inauguration and further repudiated after the Canberra meeting with President Johnson; currently his attitude is one of ignoring the NLF, recognizing only Hanoi, and calling for the people of the NLF to accept the "open arms" program which is tantamount to

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STUDENT POWER

"Riots . . . brawls . . . the throwing of stones at professors' houses, and in at least two cases the actual murder of a professor." The words are those of Laurence R. Vesey in *The Emergence of the American University*, and they describe some leading features of the pre-Civil War American college. The colleges quieted down after that war; decorum and good order came to prevail. By the opening decades of the twentieth century, Vesey writes, "The danger was no longer so much one of riots or other forms of open rebellion as it was one of drift, laxity, and the illegitimate pursuit of personal or factional advantage. Techniques of control shifted from the sermon and direct punishment toward the more appropriate devices of conference, memorandum and filing system."

Those "more appropriate devices" long remained in vogue, superintended by academic administrators, trustees and, now and again, acceptable senior professors. It wasn't a bad system for certain purposes: students were kept in line, the faculty pacified, and the control of the universities vested in a handful of tried and true loyalists. It made for "law and order," what passed for "academic freedom," and produced an endless chain of college graduates trained, as commencement speakers like to say, "to make a contribution to society." It was the perfect system for a confident, settled America, confident that students were "immature" and professors only interested in "scholarship," settled in its conviction that the place of the university is that of a faithful agent in sustaining accepted values.

Going, going . . . but not quite gone. President Grayson Kirk of Columbia, for one, is trying to hold on. On "Face the Nation" he said that he is "old-fashioned enough to believe that . . . it is important that the government of an institution of this kind [Columbia University] remain, insofar as decision-

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making is concerned, in the hands of those who have been at it for many years. . . . Students come and go." As for the present generation of students, the trouble with them is that they have been permitted "to reach young adulthood in the belief that they have no obligation to obey rules and laws except those that please them." So the police were brought in to evict the holed-up rebels, busting a few dozen heads along the way; the students surely learned something at that moment about "rules and laws."

What else did the students learn? Mainly, they learned they were right on just about every issue they had raised. Columbia suspended construction of its gym, began having second thoughts on its association with the government-sponsored Institute of Defense Analysis, and set about the initial steps necessary to re-structure the University. The one thing the student rebels do not yet have is the promise of amnesty for their take-over of a number of buildings; but they will probably get that also, or something very close to it. As the Columbia administration is probably learning, it is hard to make a case for punishment on grounds of illicit procedure when one grants implicitly the legitimacy of the substantive demands. Notably, there was little talk of punishment at those other universities visited by milder forms of protests and sit-ins in recent weeks (Princeton, Colgate and Michigan, among others); there also students had the better of the arguments.

There are of course many grounds for a sense of horror at what happened at Columbia. There were some students there who simply wanted to bring the university down; any pretexts would do and they found some. If their right to want this is dubious in the first place, they can be faulted as well for a certain naiveté: for entertaining the romantically revolutionary notion that a better institution will necessarily arise out of chaos. The ransacking of offices and the xeroxing of files are indefensible. But to dwell on the attitude of a very small minority even of the rebels, and to emphasize incidents of vandalism, graffiti and the like is to be near-blind.

Physically speaking, it is true that "students come and go," but it is more importantly true that it is they, and not their professors and administrators, who have to live with the education they receive. They have every right to want a share in deciding what that education should be. (2) The "laws and rules" that "please" students usually turn out to be those sensitive to right and truth; they are not pleased with those which guarantee only an empty formalism and resistance to necessary reform. (3) In the face of an adult world lukewarm about admitting its bungling and failures and legitimated immoralities—injustice, wars, exploitation—complaints about student excesses are hypocritical. The students should be joined, not resisted.

DECLINE OF THE UN

It is strange now to recall the shrill denunciations of the United Nations, hurled like buckshot by various American right-wing groups in the late '40s and '50s. They raised the alarm that the UN would dangerously undermine the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the United States, leaving it open to the depredations of world Communism, destroying our ability to defend our national interests. As it has turned out, the UN has made not a whit of difference to the expanding power of the U.S. or the Soviet Union, and as a result, it has not made too much difference in keeping the peace either. Unfortunately the UN's ability to invoke and enforce sanctions in international disputes has steadily declined.

The attention paid to UN resolutions and the willingness to support peacemaking operations depend, of course, on which nation's ox is being gored. France adamantly resisted "interference" in its colonial wars in Vietnam and Algeria; Russia puts its own interests in the Middle East first, as have Britain and France in the past; the U.S. has haughtily by-passed the UN while pursuing its folly in Vietnam, even at the risk of precipitating World War III; Israel and the Arab nations, no matter how often either side is condemned by the UN, drift more and more toward resolving their conflicts by armed confrontation. Even the Korean war, conducted under UN auspices, was a test of might between America and the Soviet Union and China more than an international peacekeeping operation.

Today, it is virtually taken for granted that the U.S. and North Vietnam will try to negotiate a peace on their own, in Paris, outside the official machinery of the United Nations. Secretary U Thant admittedly has labored indefatigably to get the two sides to the bargaining table, but he has been rebuffed as often as thanked for his efforts. During the years of slaughter the UN has been consigned to the role of anxious observer, powerless to stop a war that threatened the whole world.

One of the obvious reasons for the UN's inability to discharge peacekeeping duties is lack of money. Countries

NEXT WEEK

Next week Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., states the case for married American bishops:

"Married priests and bishops—and their families—would help to narrow the status gap presently existing between clergy and laity, and promote closer community relations within the Church.

"Furthermore, if functional distance from the parishioners is the pragmatic criterion, why not go all the way and say that prelates and bishops, including the Pope, should be the first to marry, to marry young women, and to have large families?"

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refuse to pay assessments to organize and maintain a UN police force if their national interests are involved. Another reason is that since the Security Council can so easily be deadlocked by the veto of one of the great powers, more and more issues have been raised in the General Assembly. But there, the Afro-Asian majority's penchant for passing resolutions condemning one or another form of colonialism, without the power to enforce them, has tended to devalue Assembly declarations. After awhile they are not taken seriously but viewed as mere propaganda or at best as high-sounding moralisms. The case of South West Africa is typical. It was declared removed from the jurisdiction of the Union of South Africa, but the territory remains under the harsh rule of its racist neighbor.

In fact, then, power remains where it would be if the United Nations had never been formed, in the governments and military establishments of the rich, technologically advanced nations. The underdeveloped countries are dependent economically and perforce politically as well. And, ironically, even the UN special agencies like UNESCO, WHO and FAO, which in the early days were the great hope of those who saw the UN as a means of achieving a fairer distribution of the world's riches, have been strait-jacketed into working within existing power relationships that inevitably favor the haves over the have-nots.

The UN has reached something of an impasse, therefore, in fulfilling all of its complex functions. It has been no more successful in curbing the nationalism of the smaller nations than of the larger. With the rising tide of revolution, the two nationalisms seem destined to collide. The course of the Vietnam war raises the question of whether the UN will be able to do anything about it beyond fretting on the sidelines or finally, after years of carnage, indirectly helping to arrange peace talks.

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Concerned Catholics Seek a Coalition

St. Louis, Mo.

Over one hundred people representing a wide range of Catholic interests and activities met in St. Louis April 25-27 to form the National Committee on Catholic Concerns. For many years it has been the desire of "concerned" people to find a way to speak through a coalition within the Church so as to give greater voice to their views and proposals. For a variety of reasons, ecclesial and sociological, this did not occur until last month, and it may be many years too late.

The St. Louis gathering was impressive, with almost every conceivable tendency represented, though youth and conservatives were scarce. Brent Bozell, editor of *Triumph*, participated, as did Fr. George Hafner of the Trenton diocese's experimental parish. Msgr. George Higgins of the Social Action Committee of the Bishops Conference injected reality into the discussions whenever it wouldn't seem too impolite. Msgr. Oesterreicher of the Institute for Judaeo-Christian Studies at Seton Hall and Fr. Gerald Sloyan of Catholic University were on hand, and so were Tom Quigley, Jake McCarthy of the Missouri Teamsters, Sister Mary Luke Tobin, Jim Colaianni, Fr. Tom Phalen, Don Thorman, John Cort, and the Crowleys of CFM. It was an all-star cast, representing causes and interests ranging from pastoral renewal to peace and civil rights, from "pluriformity" and democratization in the Church to the rights of women, selective conscientious objection and the streamlining of laicization procedures.

The keynote address, by Fr. John L. McKenzie, S.J., stressed the fact that crisis is not a new phenomenon in the Church and reminded us of the predictions of the Church's demise so frequent in the past. Still, the participants shared a sense of near-crisis as they plunged through lengthy sessions in four groups outlining what they considered to be the assets and liabilities of the Church in America today, the problems to be faced and how to go about achieving some goals.

Each of the four groups was asked to present a list of five problems facing the Church today in order of their priority. Clerical celibacy vied with racism and selective conscientious objection, experimental liturgy and parish structure. In the end, however, the "concerns" of the Committee remained unstated, although a consensus paper did emerge. The list of concerns from the four working groups, nineteen in number, was tabled; the participants, unfortunately, did not come to grips with serious and urgent proposals about which such a group might actually be able to do something, such as the encouragement of black leadership, the implementation of the Bishops' statement on racism, the recognition of the right of selective conscientious objection, and the like.

The consensus paper adopted by the Committee is nonetheless remarkably strong, even though nothing in it has not been said before. The point is that what is said is voiced not by just one element or tendency but by a wide range of individuals and groups. The crises of faith and identity, the crises of authority and love and Christian witness, as they affect such issues as birth control, liturgy, celibacy, war and peace and poverty, are issues involving all Catholics—hence the idea of a coalition like NCCC.

There are always problems with united fronts. Most Catholics have little experience with the political left-coalitions of the past. Every coalition, secular or religious, is by nature open to abuse and frustration by parasitic ideological groups of doubtful constituency. It is a sign of maturity in a group to have a common sense of this threat and to gently subvert the subverters. If a group is to disengage itself from fruitless speculation, philosophizing and theologizing, this has to be done, and if the NCCC

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is to prove its worth it will soon point itself toward specific issues in concrete practical ways. It is all very well to outline the multitudinous problems in the world and the Church, but to attempt to speak with authority on too many subjects does not impress anyone. It would be better to narrow down to an assessment of what can realistically be accomplished and then to set in motion the forces that are appropriate to the end.

Another problem threatening the NCCC is lack of money. It is very difficult to tap into the resources of the Catholic Church for ventures of this kind and the organizations and "tendencies" represented are not themselves well funded. It is a wonder that in the affluent society there is still so little money available for such evidently urgent needs.

In any case, the future of the NCCC will say a great deal about the maturity of the Catholic community in the U.S., one way or the other. If this attempt fails, future generations may not care enough to try again.

TOM CORNELL

(Tom Cornell is co-secretary of the Catholic Peace Fellowship and co-editor of the forthcoming Catholic Worker anthology, A Penny a Copy.*)*

Peace and Politics In the Park

THE WAR IS NOT OVER! read several hundred signs in the 100,000-strong April 27 peace demonstration in New York's Central Park. The signs illustrated the fact that for many marginal peace stalwarts Johnson's latest moves have meant that the war *is* over and that the movement stands a good chance of losing momentum and its sense of urgency. Indeed, the demonstration itself was part of that dilution; despite its size, the mood was less militant than resigned and dutiful.

There is a new limit imposed on the ability of political elites to manipulate opinion and dissent in this country, a new sense of disbelief and cynicism that the peace movement has been a part of. This in turn has broadened the area of saliency for formerly controversial issues like peace to the point where picketing is now often the thing to do and be seen doing; Johnson has made all this respectable.

Moreover, the new radicalism has meant an opening to new forms of protest; in many cases groups like SDS have made the demonstration seem conservative in relation to the new, more direct politics of confrontation that are less kindly disposed to accept the system's willingness to redress grievances. If anything, the demonstration has begun to wilt as a technique for mobilizing dissent—even as that dissent has begun to produce some tangible gains for the peace constituency.

But with these gains have come some fears that the Administration is still dangerously more adept at manipulating opinion than it is in altering its militantly aggressive posture toward the world. The majority of the speakers at this demonstration tried to forestall cooptation by connecting peace with the issues of racism, imperialism and poverty. Martin Luther King was hailed as a prophet for joining them last April in the famous speech for which he was roundly denounced by established liberals. But still the reception given to these ideas was far from warm —not because there was any substantial disagreement (the war has educated us to radicalism) but because nothing can mobilize a population like a hated leader.

The only truly evocative speakers in Central Park were William Coffin and Coretta King and they were effective precisely because they shunned the new radical clichés. Coffin's force was in his intelligent humor, sarcastic, frequently "black," talking as an equal rather than as a spokesman or speaker. Mrs. King was effective for her grief, for the loss that she shared with the crowd which had also felt the loss. But the point here is that on the rhetorical issues of peace and the rest, despite the bloody images, there was little real immediacy; attitudes were more intellectual than visceral; the bulk of the crowd was young—hippie-symps perhaps—and untouched by the old radicalism. Politics would come and go, the real questions were all involved with people's relations with each other.

This is very difficult to depict, but it has to do with the emphasis on what many call the "new politics," or what Irving Howe has termed the "politics of style." It was very much in evidence on April 27. In former demonstrations there was always great stress on "image"—who would be permitted in, what sorts of signs were to be allowed to be displayed, what groups specifically excluded, and what would some groups like SANE do if the pro-NLF people marched. This demonstration, on the other hand, was a witness, the apotheosis of "doing your own thing." Over a hundred groups were represented, and NLF and North Vietnamese flags were displayed in a gay cacophony, with peace balloons, American flags, peace kites in the gray April wind, anarchist black flags—and Mayor Lindsay overseeing it all, flanked by his own orange and white banner of New York.

The hippies and the new coalition of young radicals and students must share responsibility for this openness, just as they must share responsibility for the deepening of political questions in the domestic arena. The whole business of "doing your own thing," coupled with a studied insouciance, has served not merely to make the old self-righteous and highly organized mass demonstration obsolete; it has also brought a new informality that has reduced the power of anti-Communism to a new low. No one seemed to mind the presence of the Communists, who were there in somber, splintered profusion, and no one seemed to miss the Socialists who were until recently

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so vociferous in denouncing previously "tainted" marches in Washington and New York. For the gathering, the politics of doing the right thing mattered most, the politics of emotional radicalism, something that can dispense with the traditional trappings of ideology, though something not precisely geared to a sustained movement in the 1948 Wallace sense of the term.

The most pressing question seemed whether or not the movement would hold together through the vicissitudes of the summer ahead. The war called together a wide grouping of the middle class into a new political coalition and a new political idiom that conflicts with New Deal anti-Communist liberalism in tone and style as much as in program; this goes far to explain why the speeches were addressed as much to the problems of changing American social institutions as they were to those of stopping the war. But the new movement has yet to come to terms with some of the hard realities of how to deal with the tough world of power in which the Johnsons and Humphreys hold the reins and give in only when forced. It is fragmenting under the banner of the new individualism, even as the radical rhetoric continues to win new adherents. But if the demonstration demonstrated anything it is that the movement is no longer a peace movement *per se;* it has become part of a much larger and more broadly-based movement groping to change the working definitions of the political order. JONATHAN EISEN

Sister Scabs In the Suburbs

Chicago, Ill.

A group of lay and religious teachers in the Chicago Archdiocesan school system face a crisis which could affect the future of Catholic education in America. Last August, they formed a union, the Archdiocesan Teachers' Federation, in response to the firing of 26 lay teachers at St. Patrick High School, strikes at three other high schools, and the closing of several inner-city schools. The teachers organized as a way of gaining a voice in the policy and decision-making in their schools. The Archdiocese seemed to think it sufficient to form a Personnel Policy Committee consisting entirely of principals, and excluding teachers. Apparently the Archdiocese believes that the right to organize should be restricted to the top.

In October, the Archdiocesan Teachers' Federation affiliated with the Illinois Federation of Teachers, becoming Local 1700 ATF of the AFL-CIO. The union successfully organized two high schools—Leo and Little Flower —and made contact with several others; it conducted in-service labor education programs at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus, sponsored discussions on inner-city education at the union office, and supported the archdiocesan position on the bussing issue.

In December, a spokesman for the teachers of Elizabeth Seton High School, in South Holland (an affluent surburb of Chicago), informed the union of their desire to organize. The union requested and secured the principal's permission to speak to the Seton faculty and, presuming that the meeting would include both religious and lay, sent a Sister and a layman to speak to the group. They found, however, that the principal had restricted the meeting to lay faculty; she sent a Sister delegate to sit in on the meeting.

Within a week, 22 of the 31 lay teachers at Seton had officially joined the union. They drew up a contract, elected officers and made the results of the election public; in January, they asked the Seton administration to recognize them as a collective bargaining unit. They repeatedly sought this recognition from January 22 through March, but were ignored. On March 13 and 14, seven of the 22 union members (including all four of the officers) received form letters from the administration telling them that their services would not be needed at Elizabeth Seton the following year. The teachers requested specific reasons for each dismissal, but the administration merely replied that the form letter was self-explanatory.

Then, when the teachers threatened to strike, the administration promised to begin bargaining with them the next day; at the bargaining session the administration first announced that the bargaining unit voted in by the teachers was not acceptable and then flatly demanded that the Seton teaching Sisters be allowed to vote for the unit that would represent the teachers. The union previously had offered the Sisters every opportunity to join ATF (it makes no distinction between religious and lay teachers), but the nuns at Seton had been forbidden to do so. The administration's sudden interest in the Sisters' voting rights was suspect, to say the least. Under the circumstances, too, it was unlikely that the Sisters could vote freely. (This was borne out later in the dispute.) Therefore, the lay teachers refused the bargaining condition and the strike was on.

It should be pointed out, however, that the strike was merely the culmination of a long list of grievances which had prompted the Seton faculty to organize a union chapter in the first place. Among the things the Seton teachers had been expected to put up with were:

1. Classroom interruption by the administration and correction of teachers before students.

2. Interference by the administration in teachers' presentation of information about civil rights and the war in Vietnam. Teachers' views on these subjects were corrected before students and before parents. Also, they were forbidden to present any material except what was included in the religion and social studies texts, both of which are out of date and very conservative.

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3. The changing of grades by the principal. Three of the seven dismissed refused to allow their grades to be changed or reported this to the parents of the students involved.

4. The arbitrary discipline of students. There was no clear policy on discipline, and no disciplinary board in the school.

5. Assignment of teachers to classes for which they are not prepared. One teacher with an M.A. in theology was assigned to six and one-half periods of biology. Several lay teachers were teaching religion although they had not attended Catholic colleges and had no credits in theology. Teachers with free periods teach religion.

6. The projected dismissal of students to decrease enrollment (in one sophomore homeroom 11 out of 21 were on probation).

7. Discrimination against Negro students in a variety of ways. (Recently Negro students requested a Mass for Dr. Martin Luther King and were refused. They were told not to cause trouble by asking for such things.)

Since the strike, teachers have called several open meetings to explain their position to parents; they invited the administration, but the invitation was ignored. They have also requested an interview with Mother Mary Omer, Mother General of the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, who staff Elizabeth Seton High School. Here, too, they were ignored. A letter written to Mother Mary Omer by Sisters of other teaching communities in Chicago, asking her to meet with the lay teachers and administration of Seton and to encourage teaching Sisters there to exercise their human and American rights to join the union and to speak out in behalf of the lay teachers if this be their conviction, was similarly unacknowledged.

Receiving no recognition, the lay teachers and Sisters of Local 1700 AFL-CIO picketed Elizabeth Seton High School, the Archdiocesan School Board and the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati. The only result has been the sending of Charity nuns from other areas to Seton to replace the striking teachers. To their shame, they are known as "Sister Scabs." Another facet to the dispute is that despite Cardinal Cody's directive that high schools of the Archdiocese of Chicago accept all students who apply, the administration of Seton has reduced its enrollment by two hundred students. The rationale behind this action is that the Sisters of Charity are a pontifical institute and therefore are not subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop. The irony of this action is that Sister Mary Omer has been quoted as saying that the IHM Sisters of California, also a pontifical institute, ought to obey their bishop. Apparently, one nun's meat. . . .

The teachers have taken their stand on the social encyclicals of recent popes and in particular John XXIII's contention in *Mater et Magistra* that "workers should be allowed to play an active part in the affairs of an enterprise—private or public—in which they are employed." So far the only response to their repeated requests for a hearing is an icy silence—from the Archdiocese of Chicago, the Superintendent of Schools, the Sisters of Charity, Mother Mary Omer and the administration of Elizabeth Seton High School.

Since joining the ATF last December, and especially during the last month of their strike, the Seton Chapter has shown that their understanding of unionism is closely related to John XXIII's understanding of it—that is, that unions should evolve beyond their original "bread and butter" goals. For the Seton teachers salary was at no time an issue. Nevertheless, the Seton administration has offered the teachers an increment of approximately $1,000 for next year if they will return on the administration's terms. One of the terms is acceptance of a faculty senate instead of the union as the teachers' bargaining agent. The creation of a senate was unanimously approved, after the strike had begun, by the teaching nuns at Seton, the non-striking lay teachers and the "Sister Scabs" imported to help break the strike. The union members, however, consider a faculty senate, in this case at least, to be in the same category as the Archdiocese's Personnel Policy Committee—just another name for a company union. At this writing, the strikers have agreed to binding arbitration of the dispute; the administration, honoring the great silence to the last, has not committed itself.

Meanwhile, after several weeks without pay, the strikers are suffering financially. Other union locals have been able to contribute small sums to a fund for them and some have been able to find part-time work. They keep only $10 a day of their earnings, contributing the rest to a common fund administered by the Chapter president who distributes the money according to the most pressing needs—for rent, medical expenses, food and so on. Most observers have been struck not only by the strikers' professional integrity and solidarity but also by their compassion. When two of the teachers were forced to return to Seton because of acute financial strain, there were no reproaches, no recriminations from the others.

Two questions remain:

1. Does the teaching of the Church on the rights and duties of labor and management exclude herself when she is acting as an employer?

2. Does the Church really want to upgrade Catholic education by using to its full potential the professional concern and dedication which lay teachers bring to the enterprise?

The answers to these question will affect the future of Catholic education in the United States because the answers will decide what type of lay teachers will be attracted to Catholic education. The Catholic school system has been accused of sending its worst student problems to the public schools. Will our best teachers now be forced to join them? SISTER MYRA STRATTON, B.V.M.

(Sister Myra Stratton, an active member of ATF, teaches at St. Mary's High School in Chicago.)

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ON RE-DOING MAN

The ethics of genetic engineering

KURT HIRSCHHORN

The past 20 years and, more particularly, the past five years have seen an exponential growth of scientific technology. The chemical structure of the hereditary material and its language have essentially been resolved. Cells can be routinely grown in test tubes by tissue culture techniques. The exact biochemical mechanisms of many hereditary disorders have been clarified. Computer programs for genetic analysis are in common use. All of these advances and many others have inevitably led to discussions and suggestions for the modification of human heredity, both in individuals and in populations: genetic engineering.

One of the principal concerns of the pioneers in the field is the problem of the human genetic load, that is, the frequency of disadvantageous genes in the population. Each of us carries between 3 and 8 genes which, if present in double dose in the offspring of two carriers of identical genes, would lead to severe genetic abnormality, or even to death, of the affected individual before or after birth. In view of the rapid medical advances in the treatment of such diseases, it is likely that affected individuals will be able to reproduce more frequently than in the past. Therefore, instead of a loss of genes due to death or sterility of the abnormal, the mutant gene will be transmitted to future generations in a slowly but steadily increasing frequency. This is leading the pessimists to predict that we will become a race of genetic cripples requiring a host of therapeutic crutches. The optimists, on the other hand, have great faith that the forces of natural evolution will continue to select favorably those individuals who are best adapted to the then current environment. It is important to remember in this context that the "natural" environment necessarily includes man-made medical, technical and social changes.

Since it appears that at least some of the aspects of evolution and a great deal of genetic planning will be in human and specifically in scientific hands, it is crucial at this relatively early stage to consider the ethical implications of these proposed maneuvers. Few scientists today doubt the feasibility of genetic engineering, and there is considerable danger that common use of this practice will be upon us before its ethical applications are defined.

A number of different methods have been proposed for the control and modification of human hereditary material. Some of these methods are meant to work on the population level, some on the family level and others directly on the affected individual. Interest in the alteration of the genetic pool of human populations originated shortly after the time of Mendel and Darwin in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The leaders were the English group of eugenicists headed by Galton. Eugenics is nothing more than planned breeding. This technique, of course, has been successfully used in the development of hybrid breeds of cattle, corn and other food products.

Human eugenics can be positive or negative. Positive eugenics is the preferential breeding of so-called superior individuals in order to improve the genetic stock of the human race. The most famous of the many proponents of positive eugenics was the late Nobel Prize-winner Herman J. Muller. He suggested that sperm banks be established from a relatively small number of donors, chosen by some appropriate panel, and that this frozen sperm remain in storage until some future panel had decided that the chosen donors truly represented desirable genetic

KURT HIRSCHHORN, M.D., *is Chief of the Division of Medical Genetics at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine in New York.* *This article was delivered as a paper at a symposium jointly sponsored by Marymount College, Tarrytown, N.Y. and* Commonweal.

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studs. If the decision is favorable, a relatively large number of women would be inseminated with these samples of sperm; proponents of this method hope that a better world would result. The qualifications for such a donor would include high intellectual achievement and a socially desirable personality, qualities assumed to be affected by the genetic makeup of the individual, as well as an absence of obvious genetically determined physical anomalies.

A much more common effort is in the application of negative eugenics. This is defined as the discouragement or the legal prohibition of reproduction by individuals carrying genes leading to disease or disability. This can be achieved by genetic counseling or by sterilization, either on a voluntary or enforced basis. There are, however, quite divergent opinions as to which genetic traits are to be considered sufficiently disadvantageous to warrant the application of negative eugenics.

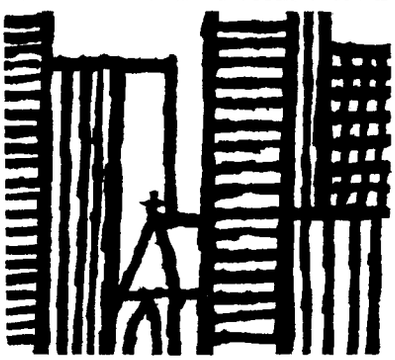
A diametrically opposite solution is that of euthenics, which is a modification of the environment in such a way as to allow the genetically abnormal individual to develop normally and to live a relatively normal life. Euthenics can be applied both medically and socially. The prescription of glasses for nearsighted individuals is an example of medical euthenics. Special schools for the deaf, a great proportion of whom are genetically abnormal, is an example of social euthenics. The humanitarianism of such efforts is obvious, but it is exactly these types of activities that have led to the concern of the pessimists who assume that evolution has selected for the best of possible variations in man and that further accumulations of genes considered abnormal can only lead to decline.

One of the most talked about advances for the future is the possibility of altering an individual's genetic complement. Since we are well on the way to understanding the genetic code, as well as to deciphering it, it is suggested that we can alter it. This code is written in a language of 64 letters, each being determined by a special arrangement of three out of four possible nucleotide bases. A chain of these bases is called deoxyribonucleic acid or DNA and makes up the genetic material of the chromosomes. If the altered letter responsible for an abnormal gene can be located and the appropriate nucleotide base substituted, the corrected message would again produce its normal product, which would be either a structurally or enzymologically functional protein.

Another method of providing a proper gene, or code word, to an individual having a defect has been suggested from an analysis of viral behavior in bacteria. It has long been known that certain types of viruses can carry genetic information from one bacterium to another or instruct a bacterium carrying it to produce what is essentially a viral product. Viruses are functional only when they live in a host cell. They use the host's genetic machinery to translate their own genetic codes. Viruses living parasitically in human cells can cause diseases such as poliomyelitis and have been implicated in the causation of tumors. Other viruses have been shown to live in cells and be reproduced along with the cells without causing damage either to the cell or to the organism. If such a harmless virus either produces a protein that will serve the function of one lacking in an affected individual, or if it can be made to carry the genetic material required for such functions into the cells of the affected individual, it could permanently cure the disease without additional therapy. If carried on to the next generation, it could even prevent the inheritance of the disease.

Transplanting Nuclei

An even more radical approach has been outlined by Lederberg. It has become possible to transplant whole nuclei, the structures which carry the DNA, from one cell to another. It has become easy to grow cells from various tissues of any individual in tissue culture. Such tissue cultures can be examined for a variety of genetic markers and thereby screened for evidence of new mutations. Lederberg suggests that it would be possible to use nuclei from such cells derived from known human in-



dividuals, again with favorable genetic traits, for the asexual human reproduction of replicas of the individuals whose nuclei are being used. For example, a nucleus from a cell of the chosen individual could be transplanted into a human egg whose own nucleus has been removed. This egg, implanted into a womb, could then divide just like a normal fertilized egg to produce an individual genetically identical to the one whose nucleus was used. One of the proposed advantages of such a method would be that, as in positive eugenics, one could choose the traits that appear to be favorable, and do so with greater efficiency by eliminating the somewhat randomly chosen female parent necessary for the sperm bank approach. Another advantage is that one can mimic what has developed in plants as a system for the preservation of genetic stability over limited periods of time. Many plants reproduce intermittently by such vegetative or parthenogenetic mechanisms, always followed by periods of sexual reproduction for the purpose of elimination of disadvantageous mutants and increase in variability.

Another possibility derives from two other technological advances. Tissue typing, similar to blood typing, and

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some immunological tricks have made it possible to transplant cells, tissues and organs from one individual to another with reasonably long-term success. Over the past few years scientists have also succeeded in producing cell hybrids containing some of the genetic material from each of two cell types either from two different species or two different individuals from the same species. Very recently Weiss and Green at New York University have succeeded in hybridizing normal human culture cells with cells from a long established mouse tissue culture line. Different products from such fusions contain varying numbers of human chromosomes and, therefore, varying amounts of human genes. If such hybrids can be produced which carry primarily that genetic information which is lacking or abnormal in an affected individual, transplantation of these cultured cells into the individual may produce a correction of his defect.

These are the proposed methods. It is now fair to consider the question of feasibility. Feasibility must be considered not only from a technical point of view; of equal importance are the effect of each of these methods on the evolution of the human population and the effect of evolution upon the efficacy of the method. In general, it can be stated that most of the proposed methods either are now or will in the not too distant future be technically possible. We are, therefore, not dealing with hypothesis in science fiction but with scientific reality. Let us consider each of the propositions independently.

Positive eugenics by means of artificial insemination from sperm banks has been practiced successfully in cattle for many years. Artificial insemination in man is an everyday occurrence. But what are some of its effects? There is now ample evidence in many species, including man, of the advantages for the population of individual genetic variation, mainly in terms of flexibility of adaptation to a changing environment. Changes in environment can produce drastic effects on some individuals, but a population which contains many genetic variations of that set of genes affected by the particular environmental change, will contain numerous individuals who can adapt. There is also good evidence that individuals who carry two different forms of the same gene, that is, are heterozygous, appear to have an advantage. This is even true if that gene in double dose, that is, in the homozygous state, produces a severe disease. For example, individuals homozygous for the gene coding for sickle cell hemoglobin invariably develop sickle cell anemia which is generally fatal before the reproductive years. Heterozygotes for the gene are, however, protected more than normals from the effects of the most malignant form of malaria. It has been shown that women who carry the gene in single dose have a higher fertility in malarial areas than do normals. This effect is well known to agricultural geneticists and is referred to as hybrid vigor. Fertilization of many women by sperm from few men will have an adverse effect on both of these advantages of genetic variability since the population will tend to be more and more alike in their genetic characteristics. Also, selection for a few genetically advantageous factors will carry with it selection for a host of other genes present in the same individuals, genes whose effects are unknown when present in high numbers in the population. Therefore, the interaction between positive eugenics and evolution makes this method not feasible on its own.

Abnormal offspring

Negative eugenics is, of course, currently practiced by most human geneticists. It is possible to detect carriers of many genes, which when inherited from both parents will produce abnormal offspring. Parents, both of whom carry such a gene, can be told that they have a one in four chance of producing such an abnormal child. Individuals who carry chromosomal translocations are informed that they have a high risk of producing offspring with congenital malformations and mental retardation. But how far can one carry out such a program? Some states have laws prescribing the sterilization of individuals who are mentally retarded to a certain degree. These laws are frequently based on false information regarding the heredity of the condition. The marriage of people with reduced intelligence is forbidden in some localities, again without adequate genetic information. While the effects of negative eugenics may be quite desirable in individual families with a high risk of known hereditary diseases, it is important to examine its effects on the general population.

These effects must be looked at individually for conditions determined by genes that express themselves in a single dose (dominant), in double dose (recessive) and those which are due to an interaction of many genes (polygenic inheritance). With a few exceptions, dominant diseases are rare and interfere severely with reproductive ability. They are generally maintained in the population by new mutations. Therefore, there is either no need or essentially no need for discouraging these individuals from reproduction. Any discouragement, if applicable, will be useful only within that family but not have any significance for the general population. One possible exception is the severe neurological disorder, Huntington's chorea, which does not express itself until most of the patient's children are already born. In such a situation it may be useful to advise the child of an affected individual that he has a 50% chance of developing the disease and a 25% chance of any of his children being affected. Negative eugenics in such a case would at least keep the gene frequency at the level usually maintained by new mutations.

The story is quite different for recessive conditions. Although detection of the clinically normal carriers of these genes is currently possible only for a few diseases, the techniques are rapidly developing whereby many of

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these conditions can be diagnosed even if the gene is present only in single dose and will not cause the disease. Again, with any particular married couple it would be possible to advise them that they are both carriers of the gene and that any child of theirs would have a 25% chance of being affected. However, any attempt to decrease the gene frequency of these common genetic disorders in the population by prevention of fertility of all carriers would be doomed to failure. First, we all carry between 3 and 8 of these genes in single doses. Secondly, for many of these conditions, the frequency in the population of carriers is about one in 50 or even greater. Prevention of fertility for even one of these disorders would stop a sizable proportion of the population from reproducing and for all of these disorders would prevent the entire human population from having any children. Reduction in fertility of a sizable proportion of the population would also prevent the passing on to future generations of a great number of favorable genes and would, therefore, interfere with the selective aspects of evolution which can only function to improve the population within a changing environment by selecting from a gene pool containing enormous variability. It has now been shown that in fact no two individuals, with the exception of identical twins, are likely to be genetically and biochemically identical, thereby allowing the greatest possible adaptation to changing environment and the most efficient selection of the fittest.

The most complex problem is that of negative eugenics for traits determined by polygenic inheritance. Characteristics inherited in this manner include many measurements that are distributed over a wide range throughout the population, such as height, birth weight and intelligence. The last of these can serve as a good example of the problems encountered. Severe mental retardation in a child is not infrequently associated with perfectly normal intelligence or in some cases even superior intelligence in the parents. These cases can, a priori, be assumed to be due to the homozygous state, in the child, of a gene leading to mental retardation, the parents representing heterozygous carriers. On the other hand, border-line mental retardation shows a high association with subnormal intelligence in other family members. This type of deficiency can be assumed to be due to polygenic factors, more of the pertinent genes in these families being of the variety that tends to lower intelligence. However, among the offspring of these families there is also a high proportion of individuals with normal intelligence and a sprinkling of individuals with superior intelligence.

All of these comments are made with the realization that our current measurements of intelligence are very crude and cannot be compared between different population groups. It is estimated that, on the whole, people with superior intelligence have fewer offspring than do those of average or somewhat below average intelligence. If people of normal intelligence were restricted to producing only two offspring and people of reduced intelligence were by negative eugenics prevented from having any offspring at all, the result, as has been calculated by the British geneticist, Lionel Penrose, would be a gradual shift downward in the mean intelligence level of the population. This is due to the lack of replacement of intellectually superior individuals from offspring of the majority of the population, that is, those not superior in intellect.

Current Possibilities

It can be seen, therefore, that neither positive nor negative eugenics can ever significantly improve the gene pool of the population and simultaneously allow for adequate evolutionary improvement of the human race. The only useful aspect of negative eugenics is in individual counseling of specific families in order to prevent some of the births of abnormal individuals. One recent advance in this sphere has important implications from both a genetic and a social point of view. It is now possible to diagnose genetic and chromosomal abnormalities in an unborn child by obtaining cells from the amniotic fluid in which the child lives in the mother. While the future may bring further advances, allowing one, then, to start treatment on the unborn child and to produce a functionally normal infant, the only currently possible solution is restricted to termination of particular pregnancies by therapeutic abortion. This is, of course, applied negative eugenics in its most extreme form.

Euthenics, the alteration of the environment to allow aberrant individuals to develop normally and to lead a normal life, is currently in use. Medical examples include special diets for children with a variety of inborn errors of metabolism who would, in the absence of such diets, either die or grow up mentally retarded. Such action, of course, requires very early diagnosis of these diseases, and programs are currently in effect to routinely examine newborns for such defects. Other examples include the treatment of diabetics with insulin and the provision of special devices for children with skeletal deformities. Social measures are of extreme importance in this regard. As has many times been pointed out by Dobzhansky, it is useless to plan for any type of genetic improvement if we do not provide an environment within which an individual can best use his strong qualities and obtain support for his weak qualities. One need only mention the availability of an environment conductive to artistic endeavor for Toulouse-Lautrec, who was deformed by an inherited disease.

The feasibility of alteration of an individual's genes by direct chemical change of his DNA is technically an enormously difficult task. Even if it became possible to do this, the chance of error would be enormous. Such an error, of course, would have the diametrically opposite effect of that desired; in other words, the individual would

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become even more abnormal. The introduction of corrective genetic material by viruses or transplantation of oppropriately hybridized cells is technically predictable and, since it would be performed only in a single affected individual, would have no direct effect on the population. If it became widespread enough, it could, like euthenics, increase the frequency in the population of so-called abnormal genes, but if this treatment became a routine phenomenon, this would not develop into an evolutionarily disadvantageous situation. It must also be constantly kept in mind that medical advances are occurring at a much more rapid rate than any conceivable deterioration of the genetic endowment of man. It is, therefore, very likely that such corrective procedures will become commonplace long before there is a noticeable increase in the load of disadvantageous genes in the population.

The growing of human beings from cultured cells, while again possibly feasible, would on the other hand interfere with the action of evolutionary forces. There would be an increase, just as with positive eugenics, of a number of individuals who would be alike in their genetic complement with no opportunity for the high degree of genetic recombination which occurs during the formation of sperm and eggs and which is evident in the resultant progeny. This would diminish the adaptability of the population to changes in the environment and, if these genetic replicas were later permitted to return to sexual reproduction, would lead to a marked increase in homozygosity for a number of genes with the disadvantages pointed out before.

Who Will Be the Judges

We see, therefore, that many of the proposed techniques are feasible although not necessarily practical in producing their desired results. We may now ask the question of which of these are ethical from a humanistic point of view? Both positive and negative eugenics when applied to populations presume a judgment of what is genetically good and what is bad. Who will be the judges and where will the limit be between good and bad? We have had at least one example of a sad experience with eugenics in its application in Nazi Germany. This alone can serve as a lesson on the inability to separate science and politics. The most difficult decisions will come in defining the borderline cases. Will we breed against tallness because space requirements become more critical? Will we breed against nearsightedness because people with glasses may not make good astronauts? Will we forbid intellectually inferior individuals from procreating despite their proven ability to produce a number of superior individuals? Or should we rather provide an adequate environment for the offspring of such individuals to realize their full genetic potential?

C. C. Li, in his presidential address to the American Society of Human Genetics in 1960, pointed out the real fallacy in eugenic arguments. Man has continuously improved his environment to allow so-called inferior individuals to survive and reproduce. The movement into the cave and the putting on of clothes has protected the individual unable to survive the stress of the elements. Should we then consider that we have reached the peak of man's progress, largely determined by environmental improvements designed to increase fertility and longevity, and that any future improvements designed to permit anyone to live a normal life will only lead to deterioration? Nineteenth century scientists, including such eminent biologists as Galton, firmly believed that this peak was reached in their time. This obviously fallacious reasoning must not allow a lapse in ethical considerations by the individual and by humanity as a whole, just to placate the genetic pessimists.

The tired axiom of democracy that all men are created equal must not be considered from the geneticist's point of view, since genetically all men are created unequal. Equality must be defined purely and simply as equality of opportunity to do what one is best equipped to do. When we achieve this, the forces of natural evolution will choose those individuals best adapted to this egalitarian environment. No matter how we change the genetic makeup of individuals, we cannot do away with natural selection. We must always remember that natural selection is determined by a combination of truly natural events and the artificial modifications which we are introducing into our environment in an exponentially increasing number.

With these points in mind, we can try to decide what in all of these methods is both feasible and ethical. I believe that the only logical conclusion is that all maneuvers of genetic engineering must be judged for each individual and, in each case, must take primary consideration of the rights of the individual. This is impossible by definition in any attempt at positive eugenics. Negative eugenics in the form of intelligent genetic counseling is the answer for some. Our currently unreasonable attitude about practicing negative eugenics by means of intelligent selection for therapeutic abortion must be changed. Basic to such a change is a more accurate definition of a living human being. Such restricted uses of negative eugenics will prevent individual tragedies. Correction of unprevented genetic disease, or that due to new mutation, by introduction of new genetic material may be one answer for the future; but until such a new world becomes universally feasible, we must on the whole restrict ourselves to environmental manipulations from both the points of view of allowing affected individuals to live normally and permitting each individual to realize his full genetic potential. There is no question that genetic engineering will come about. But both the scientists directly involved and, perhaps more important, the political and social leaders of our civilization must exercise utmost caution in order to prevent genetic, evolutionary and social tragedies.

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Renovating the revolution

CZECH-MATING STALINISM

H. DONALD

For the majority of the Soviet bloc, the Communist revolution—accomplished by minority groups of local Communists supported by the Red Army—represented the change from perpetual poverty with no future save that "beyond" offered by a generally reactionary Church, to another form of material sacrifice which, however, holds out the offer of a better life on earth. For these countries, the revolution brought no major change in the *political* life of the masses of peasants and workers; but it did offer that new hope.

In Czechoslovakia, the circumstances were different. At the end of the war, there was a large Communist Party and a large Social Democratic Party, both of which had distinguished themselves in resisting the Nazi invaders. Czechoslovakia had been a republic before the war, and had begun to develop a democratic tradition. It was the most "Western" of the "Eastern bloc"; its Charles University, for example, is the oldest German-speaking university in the world.

The Communists shared power with the Socialist government for several years, but when the Czech government accepted the U.S. offer of Marshall Plan aid, Stalin put his foot down. The "Prague Coup" took place shortly thereafter. But Stalin's foot was not the instrument of execution. The coup, though still a mystery in many of its aspects, was the work of Czechs: the Red Army did not intervene, and the people seemed willing to accept the new government.

Stalin put his foot down harder in 1951-2, the years of the famous Slansky purges, during which the Central Committee of the Party was decimated and over 30,000 Communists were arrested and imprisoned. What was left of the Party fell under the control of Antonin Novotny, who later managed to ride out the de-Stalinization years by offering up certain of his ministers as scapegoats. There was no "Polish October," no Hungarian uprising.

In 1962-3, there was a second wave of de-Stalinization; again, Novotny survived. During this period, many of the old political prisoners were released, among them Mr. Goldstuecker, presently one of the leaders of the progressive intellectuals, and Mr. Smrkovsky, recently promoted to the Presidium of the Party. Slansky and his comrades were posthumously pardoned.

H. DONALD *is an American student, now in France, who has lived in Czechoslovakia.*

Still, political life was dead. The press was censored; ideas controlled; the CP was a rapidly aging group (their average age in 1967 was 45) and youth was not interested in politics. When I was there one young woman said she couldn't understand how I could spend an hour or more a day reading the newspaper; it took her only 10 minutes. A Western Communist visitor reported that he hadn't met a single "real Communist" in all of Prague. Anecdotes of this sort abound.

In 1966, however, things began to stir. It began in Prague with the discontent of the students who were thrown together with the young workers (the Party's chosen representatives) in a single Youth Organization. The students felt that because of their diverse interests the two groups should function autonomously. A plan to this effect was introduced by one of the students, Juri Millar. He was promptly expelled from the university and drafted into the Czech army. Millar's friends held several protest meetings; gradually an interested group began to crystallize around the student leaders in the schools of Philosophy, Journalism and Engineering. (These are the "activist" faculties; economics, law, etc. are either passive or support the established order.) The government did not take kindly to their activities. When the students organized an independent protest not sponsored by the Party, against U.S. involvement in Vietnam, they were reprimanded by the Party.

Most of the student leaders were Party members. Some are the sons of Party members who had been victims of the Slansky purges. The young people were dissatisfied by the rehabilitation offered, in somewhat bad grace, by ex-President Novotny; they wanted the Party to explain why the purges had occurred and to set up the machinery to prevent future ones.

At the end of May, 1967, another protest group emerged: the writers. At their Congress, three major addresses were given, claiming the right to free speech, condemning censorship, and demanding democratization. The Party's ideologue, Hendrych, answered them by saying that "the Party has run out of patience." The following October, the three offending writers—Vaculik, Klima and Liehm—were expelled from the Party by the Central Committee. At the same time the literary weekly published by the Writer's Union was suppressed and put under the control of a "writer-colonel." Students led a boycott against the new journal, demanding restoration of

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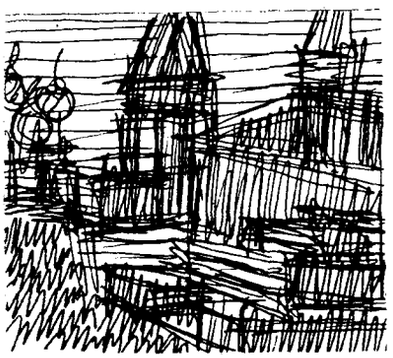
the old *Literarny Noviny*, which had been a source of refreshment and controversy in the Czech literary world. In its last "free" issue, it had published Jean-Paul Sartre's *Anti-Semite and Jew*, thus adding to the government's enmity.

Later in October, a protest was organized by the students of the Technical College of Strahov (a Prague suburb). They marched to Prague to present their grievances—mainly complaints about the lack of heat and proper lighting at the college. They were met by the police, and brutally repulsed. Thus, another segment of opinion was sensitivized; another area of conflict was opened.

In this charged atmosphere the Central Committee began to debate future liberalizations. At its Plenum of Oct. 30-31, Mr. Dubcek was accused by Mr. Novotny of being a "bourgeois nationalist." Indeed, the debate in the higher echelons of the Party seemed mainly a struggle between the Slavonic minority and the Czech majority.



But that was an illusion which quickly disappeared at the meetings of the Central Committee on December 19 and on January 3-5. The principal points of the reform as announced on March 18 by Mr. Dubcek, are:

—a change in the relations of the government and the party, each becoming autonomous;

—a future change in the relation between Czechs and Slovaks;

—suppression of the accumulation of many functions by a single person;

—giving more power to the economic organizations;

—acceleration of the economic reforms begun last year.

In announcing the new program, at Brno, Mr. Dubcek concluded his speech significantly, with the words, "Be in good health!", instead of the traditional "Long live the PC!"

The role of the students and writers in this series of events is difficult to assess. It seems clear that it was their actions which created the ideological conditions that called the political situation into question. However, their protests remained on an "ideological" or "political" level; they had little concrete to say about the Czech economic situation; their support of Mr. Ota Sik's economic reform was motivated more by the "increased democratization" that it promises than by any sort of economic analysis. Nevertheless, *Literarny Noviny* is once more published by the Writer's Union, and its recent editions are selling over 86,000 copies, far more than its predecessor ever did. Vaculik, Klima and Liehm are soon to be re-admitted to the Party. The Central Committee has promised to publish the minutes of all of its future meetings, and, perhaps most significantly, Mr. Dubcek recently met with some 2,000 students to answer their questions about the political situation. He explained why their candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Cisar, had not been elected; and, in reply to a question of whether there was any guarantee that the "old days" would not return, he said: "You, yourselves, the youth, are the best guarantee. . . . There is only one path—that which moves forward."

New life has come to Czechoslovakia, especially to its intellectual community (which is rather larger than some might think). Last year, to be "in" one had to have read and studied Kafka and Dostoevsky. Today, concerns have changed. The political is all important; the actions of the students in supporting Mr. Cisar for the Presidency are indicative; and because of their support, Cisar has been guaranteed a high governmental post as soon as Lenart's Cabinet resigns.

The Warsaw Pact nations are concerned by these new developments. Secretary Brezhnev's several trips to Prague, Dubcek's trip to Moscow and then to Dresden, the choice of General Svoboda as President because of his good relations with the USSR—testify to the concern. *Pravda* spoke only in general terms about the changes, attempting to refute "imperialist calumnies." But, the Polish students know about the changes, and have cited them in their demonstrations.

The international press has scratched its collective head and wondered about the reforms, the cohesion of the "Soviet bloc," etc. The *Guardian* talks about the "combat for a multi-party system"; the *Economist* compares the future Czech regime with the Yugoslavs, who have let the opposition exist without giving it power; the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* fears the "pressure" of the USSR; and so on. Yet, anyone who has talked with the students and intellectuals who created the conditions necessary for the reforms can testify that there is no question of a "return to capitalism," and that "pure" socialists can rest easy. *Rude Pravo,* organ of the Czech CP, contends that "Democracy, like all forms of power, has its rules of the game. These rules are more difficult with more players. We must learn these rules . . . Thanks to democracy, we can attain the human, humanitarian, and socialist objectives for the good of the society and of each of its members. We have still to learn this skill."

And, an older intellectual, Mr. Goldstuecker, argues that, "The revolution only reaches its goal when it restores those liberties temporarily taken away." The Czech renovation suggests that the socialist revolution is not necessarily the grim gray destiny that the "free world" likes to think it is.

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WHY NOT PERCY?

Dark horse power

JOHN QUIRK

The scene was Romney headquarters on the eve of the Michigan Governor's withdrawal from the New Hampshire primary. An aide put down the telephone after receiving confirmation of that decision and said: "Well, Percy's the logical moderate choice now."

Since then, the impression spread in the Romney camp, echoed by the Governor himself, that non-candidate Nelson Rockefeller had upstaged the New Hampshire effort, yet then refused to answer the overtures of moderate leaders to meet Richard Milhous Nixon in open combat. Although Rockefeller retained prominence, high rating in the polls, and broad support to "stop Nixon," he had acquired a spoiler image among party pros and strained relations with Lindsay, Percy, Romney, and Nixon. At the same time, Illinois junior Senator, Charles Harting Percy, adhered to the traditional cool strategy of the dark horse—offending no one, making statements, and edging closer to "favorite-son" status.

After the initial Rockefeller demurrer, a Coalition for a Republican Alternative formed and listed an "invisible quartet" that included the New York Governor, Mayor John Vliet Lindsay, Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield, and Percy. Of their number, Rockefeller generates the most opposition among the conservative wing. Both Lindsay and Hatfield occupy small power bases, must share delegations with Governors Rockefeller and McCall, and had dared to hint that they might cross party lines should a dovish, domestic progressive like McCarthy or Kennedy square off against a hawkish, "law and order" Dick Nixon in November. Obviously, they had not endeared themselves to GOP loyalists whose 11th commandment reads: "Never speak ill of another Republican." On the GOP left, this seems to leave Percy as the most probable alternative to a Nixon or Reagan nomination.

Recent developments have suggested more of the scenario which Percy supporters expect will place their man in the spotlight. After Johnson's disclaimer and de-escalation, GOP Congressional leaders Gerald Ford and Melvin Laird were known to be reassessing a previous willingness to run Nixon, because many polls showed he would not cut into splintered Democratic ranks and attract the new voters against Kennedy, McCarthy, or Humphrey. Intent on capturing control of the House, they remember 1960, when Nixon ran behind local tickets across the country. In addition, some Nixon sources were willing to suggest that Nixon himself, whose personal liking for Percy dates back to the Eisenhower years and who considers the Illinoisan an ideal running mate, would least mind releasing delegates to Percy to prevent a defeat at the hands of his *bêtes-noires*, Rockefeller and Reagan.

Ironically, Percy had so successfully insulated himself against what he felt were the perils of premature publicity and exposure that he has all but disappeared from the media. Yet Percy may offer the Republicans their best candidate in 1968. Across the GOP spectrum, Republican spokesmen have been known to punctuate interviews with a "Chuck Percy might be our strongest candidate" remark.

The Possibilities

Percy enters the long stretch to Miami Beach in an enviable position as everybody's alternative, the perfect compromise choice to a Rockefeller-Nixon-Reagan division. If he decided to run in midsummer or, more likely, was drafted by a deadlocked convention, Percy can be expected to put forward the image of "Mr. New Republican," a party regular but impeccably liberal on issues. In GOP affairs Percy has conspicuously absented himself from the scenes of intraparty feuds, and avails himself of every opportunity to appear at testimonials for stalwarts like Roman Hruska and Norris Cotton. In the Senate, he rolled up a 97% ADA rating, and cultivated the Urban Coalition with a Home-Ownership Opportunity Act that would have extended the "maximum feasible participation of the poor" concept to the housing field through a national congress of Local Non-Profit Housing Associations.

Presently, Percy faces something of an obstacle in the fragility of consensus in the Illinois party and the potential composition of the state delegation. In Illinois, party politics are split between up-state progressives and down-state mossbacks, and Percy and his allies have spent several years attempting to build a base on the southern side of what might be called the Nixon-Reagan line. Part of the Percy strategy involved the opening of a Senatorial office in Centralia to service constituents and double as a visible modern Republican presence. Afterward, Percy began receiving county committeemen in Washington weekend style and visting their bailiwicks. In order to help

JOHN QUIRK *is a regular contributor to* The Activist, Dissent *and* Commonweal.

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finance these ventures, his business backers organized the aborted "Percy Group Fund," which was to have been announced by the Senator in a taped TV report. After this had been recorded but before the broadcast, the story was broken in a way to throw doubt upon Percy's probity and certainly parlayed by his political opponents. Eventually, Percy dissolved the fund, though a small cloud still hangs in the background. However, the anti-Percy forces were hit by their own scandal-of-sorts, when Maureen Reagan, daughter of the California governor who was dispatched to Springfield, and Phyllis Schafly, authoress of *A Choice Not An Echo*, were discovered to be involved in what most Illinois Republicans considered a highly disruptive recruitment drive. Since that time, things have begun to break Percy's way. It is likely that Percy ally Richard Ogilvie will win the primary race for the gubernatorial nomination and pro-Percy delegates are running in most Congressional districts. Moreover, Everett Dirksen, who has been cool toward his junior colleague, will have his hands full with the platform committee and a race for re-election and might consider Percy an aid in both causes. So, Percy will probably have approval for favorite-son designation by early June.

Finally, Percy's greatest asset to the convention kingpins will be that his candidacy could mobilize a series of potent *motifs* in a campaign against *any* Democratic opponent. Since he became nationally famous with his "all-Asian Peace Conference" proposed in July 1966, Percy has been a certifiable dove. During an unguided tour of the Vietnam front, he became the only potential candidate to experience Viet Cong mortar fire. On urban problems, he could blame Administration obstruction for evisceration of the local control and broad funding sections of his housing proposals. In civil rights, he built a record which stretched from support for state FEPC laws in 1947 to rounding up votes for the Senate passage of open occupancy. Should the Middle East heat up, Percy could talk about his conference with Levi Eshkol and trips to Arab refugee camps this winter and reiterate his plan for international arbitration. To the poor and dispossessed, Percy, whose family went on relief during the Depression, could claim intimate acquaintance with the difficulties of paying food and rent bills.

Significantly, Percy could couple these positions on the salient, surface issues with an appeal to the undercurrent of national malaise. A self-made millionaire, Percy may well be able to project an image of the second coming of Horatio Alger, who wants the welfare state to move from provider of basic security to an instrument of universal opportunity. To audiences who feel the American dream has become a technological nightmare, Percy can speak in terms both challenging and reassuring: "You can't measure the quality of American life by the number of color TV sets or nuclear warheads we possess . . . Shouldn't our resources and our personnel be dedicated to significant purposes rather than trivial ones?"

As election politics proceed, the sheer arithmetic of Republican power still points toward Nixon. The pragmatic calculus of the pollstergeist suggests Rockefeller should be chosen. But any winning Republican strategy must be based upon the suburbs and the industrial-agricultural complex of the Midwest and border states. There, supermoderate Percy, flanked by a Thruston Morton phalanx on the left and an Ev Dirksen brigade to the right, might go marching to victory in the fall. If it looks as if the Democrats might choose Ralph Yarborough or John Connally as the Vice-President, Percy could counter with Texas John Tower. Should both parties concede the Deep South to Wallace, the GOP could go for the big electoral states with Percy and Edward Brooke of Massachusetts. Thus, the *geopolitics* of GOP power leans toward a Percy candidacy,

True, he has little governmental experience, a short time in the Senate, and, to date, no national campaign apparatus exists. But, as Percy himself pointed out several weeks ago in assessing the remaining moderate prospects, Wendell Willkie came out of no public post in 1940 to carry the convention and nearly the country.

A perplexed Republican Party, reconsidering the new political situation, may put the usual question somewhat differently: "Indeed, why *not* Percy?"

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CLEMEWELL YOUNG

SPRING VESPERS

Heady with apple,
Light with eider sky,
The twilight asks observance;
We comply.
We gather for a scented
Silent prayer,
Summoned by settling birds
Through darkening air,
Drawn further by the thrush's
Vesper song:
"The Lord be with us
Though the night be long."
Our thoughts drift duskward
With a distant car,
The tick of beetle
And the tock of star.
We stand and shuffle shadows,
Led to pray
In unspent awe
At simple end of day.
And spring things wing
And dust the deepened grass,
And quiet creeps.
But this too soon shall pass.

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RECORDS

In his uniquely illuminating discussion of Beethoven's music, *Beethoven: His Spiritual Development*, J. W. N. Sullivan observes that "perhaps even Shakespeare never reached that final stage of illumination that is expressed in some of Beethoven's late music"—the last piano sonatas and string quartets. I would say that the super-earthly illumination and exaltation Sullivan refers to is embodied most overwhelmingly in the gradual elaboration of the slow variation movements of the Sonatas Opp. 109 and 111 and Quartet Op. 132; but two of the remotest points Beethoven's mind attains in those "strange seas of thought" in which Sullivan says his mind voyages in his last works are in the 33 Variations on a Waltz of Diabelli: Variation 20, and the distant chords heard in the sudden stillness that follows the vehement fugue of Variation 32 and is followed by the apotheosis of Variation 33. I have heard no performance which produced the expressive effect in these two passages that Schnabel's 1937 performance on imported Pathé COLH-64 does; and he plays the rest of the work as effectively.

One of the early works that are Prokofiev's best, the Concerto No. 3, on a Melodiya/Angel stereo record, introduces the young Russian pianist Nikolai Petrov, whose playing with the Moscow Radio Symphony under Rozhdestvensky is dazzlingly brilliant and musically sensitive. Regrettably the reverse side has Rachmaninov's Concerto No. 4, an arid manipulation of mere stylistic mannerisms. Cliburn, on a Victor record, performs the Prokofiev superbly with the finer-sounding Chicago Symphony.

A low-priced Seraphim record has the remarkable performance of Chopin's Piano Concerto No. 1 recorded years ago by a young Italian, Maurizio Pollini, of whom nothing was been heard since then.

All of Hugo Wolf's songs exhibit a remarkable relation to the poems—in the vocal writing that is like an extension of the words around which the music shapes itself as it points up their meaning; but not all are in addition moving or attractive as pieces of music. The Spanish Song Book, on two Deutsche Grammophon stereo records, has a large number of songs of the first kind, a smaller number of the second kind, including a few of Wolf's greatest: *Nun wandre, Maria, Die ihr schwebet, Ach, des Knaben Augen* and *Herr, was trägt der Boden hier*, of the religious songs, *In dem Schatten meiner Locken* and *Auf dem grünen Balkon*, of the secular ones. Fischer-Dieskau's singing is superb throughout; Schwarzkopf's is good in the religious songs, but mannered and affected in the secular ones. Gerald Moore provides good piano accompaniments.

An Angel stereo record has the mezzo-soprano Christa Ludwig's excellent performances of Schubert songs, including several of his best which are also among his earliest—*Gretchen am Spinnrade, Erlkönig, Litanei, Der Tod und das Mädchen* and *An die Musik* —in addition to the later *Der Musensohn* and *Auf dem Wasser zu singen*. They are heard with enlivened accompaniments by Geoffrey Parsons.

Truly legendary is *An Evening of Elizabethan Verse and Its Music*, reissued on a low-priced Odyssey record—the verse spoken by Auden, the beautiful musical settings of Weelkes, Wilbye, Dowland, Morley and others sung by the New York Pro Musica Antiqua, which in 1954 included Russell Oberlin, whose marvelous counter-tenor voice is heard alone in two pieces, and Charles Bressler, whose fine tenor is heard in two others.

The chorus in Colin Davis' well-paced performance of Mozart's *Requiem* on a Philips stereo record is not as good as the Vienna State Opera Chorus in Kertesz's excellent performance on a London mono record; and the stereo recording doesn't reproduce Davis' performance as clearly and with as solid and beautiful sound as the mono does Kertesz's.

Casals performs Mozart's Symphonies K.385 (*Haffner*) and K.551 (*Jupiter*) with the Marlboro Festival Orchestra, on a Columbia mono record, in his distinctive manner—a combination of tempos a little slower than usual with powerful inflection and tension that gives the works impressive effect.

Much of Mahler's Symphony No. 3 I find uninteresting; but its long slow finale is, for me, his most sublime utterance. Though Kubelik—conducting the Bavarian Radio Symphony and Chorus and Marjorie Thomas in a fine performance on two Deutsche Grammaphon stereo records—doesn't give this finale the sustained grandeur that Leonard Bernstein does in the performance on Columbia records, one may decide that the charming second movement performed by Kubelik without Bernstein's arch distortions, and the beautiful fourth movement also performed more simply by Kubelik, outweigh the superiority of Bernstein's finale.

Boulez's eagerly awaited performance of Debussy's *La Mer* with the New Philharmonia, on a CBS stereo record, is marvelously clear in texture, but outlines and paces the work less effectively than Toscanini's; and the stereo recording reproduces it with the string basses inaudible unless one's phonograph can add a large amount of bass.

This insufficiency of bass is something I have reported in many—though not all—stereo recordings in recent years; it has caused me to recommend the mono versions with the solidity down below that the stereos have lacked; and it makes the discontinuing of mono by most record companies a great disservice to music-lovers who care about accurate reproduction of the performance, not about the latest fad in hi-fi sound that sacrifices this accuracy. And another and worse disservice of this kind,

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it now appears, is the Victor decision I reported in my last column—to issue the newly edited Toscanini recordings not only in their original mono sound but in "electronically reprocessed stereo." Merely to issue the fake stereo versions was an inexcusable negation of the original intention to offer at last the genuine recordings in place of the falsification of them that music-lovers had had to accept for many years. But the Gresham's Law of the record business has operated to make the new fake stereo versions the only ones available: the retail dealers are stocking only these fake stereo versions, as are Victor's wholesale distributors. One can obtain the genuine mono recordings only by special order, which takes weeks. This repeated mistreatment of Toscanini and his public is something which that public should protest to Victor about wrathfully.

B. H. HAGGIN

STRAINED JOLLITY

THE SCREEN

It's humor time again. And for the benefit of moviegoers who haven't decided yet which items in the batch of new comedies are for them, here are a few notes that may help them realize what's reasonably risible.

"The Young Girls of Rochefort" is the lightest, bounciest and silliest of the bunch, and is likely to make the viewer feel good under the influence of its handsome cast's *joie de vivre*. Directed and written by Jacques Demy, whose operetta "The Umbrellas of Cherbourg" was really a foolish soap opera in which every word was sung, this new French opus is a musical comedy about twin sisters (Francoise Dorleac and Catherine Deneuve) who teach music and dancing while waiting for their true loves to turn up, and whose mother (Danielle Darrieux) runs a small cafe while hoping that the twins' father, whom she turned down many years ago, will now turn up and give her another chance. This plot, as ridiculous as most Gilbert and Sullivan gems, probably kids itself and serves as an excuse for the spirited musical numbers and snappy repartee. Assisting the girls in song, dance and repartee are George Chakiris, Grover Dale, Jacques Perrin and Gene Kelly who, many years ago, used to make lighthearted musical movies very much like this.

"I'll Never Forget What's 'Isname" is, I suppose, supposed to be a comedy. At least it starts as such with Oliver Reed parading through the streets of London with an ax, then going up to his classy office in a classy building where he vigorously chops up his desk and then tells his boss (Orson Welles) he can't stand the commercial and phony atmosphere of this advertising business. Orson doesn't want Oliver to go, but Oliver is determined to escape from this rat race. He's also determined to escape from his wife and son and two mistresses. What happens from there on in isn't exactly funny. Although Oliver goes to work for a little literary magazine, he not only can't escape from the past ties, but also he finds some of the past worse than he remembered and now in the present new ties are just as bad. He gets involved with a secretary at the new job, and, while much is said about her virginity, much is also shown of Oliver's efforts to change that situation. Since this film was directed by Michael Winner, whose previous satire, "The Jokers," was so bright, I expected "I'll Never Forget" to have more depth and fun. It isn't really a comedy at all, but a haphazard exercise pointing out the failings in modern English society. And the main trouble with it is the lumpish performance of Oliver Reed as the anti-hero who is certainly no more attractive than the other rats in the race.

"Yours, Mine and Ours" is no doubt meant to be a family comedy. And family it is, with its story about a widow (Lucille Ball) with eight children who marries a widower (Henry Fonda) with ten. Although the picture is not quite as sentimental as one might expect, it does have its corny moments and it also has some good sound values that are developed both verbally and pictorially. What with the 18 children, the scenes get a bit cluttered at times, and I could have done without Van Johnson as a matchmaking bachelor and the episode in which Fonda's kids get Fonda's prospective bride drunk. But on the whole if you're looking for a safe and sane family pic., "Yours, Mine and Ours" could be "Yours."

"The Odd Couple" stems from the long-running stage hit by Neil Simon; and if the play was like the movie, I can't see what all the shouting was about. The first 20 minutes or so are taken up with Jack Lemmon's suicide attempts which left me cold, so when we finally get to the main action and Walter Matthau's inviting Jack to move in with him, I wanted more humor than I got. The story, as probably everyone knows, concerns the two fellows who are separated from their wives and attempt to share Matthau's apartment. Most of the jokes are built around their incompatibility: Jack is a fussy hypochondriac and a compulsive cleaner; Walter is sloppy, but as he characterizes himself, "Life goes on even for those who are divorced, broke and sloppy." And as time goes on the two men probably fight as much or more than they did with their wives. Director Gene Saks manages to make some of the rows quite amusing; and Matthau is often hilarious as the sloppy guy, but Jack with his obsessions, gets rather tiresome. For a while the episode with the girls upstairs relieves the tedium, but even that wears thin. "The Odd Couple" may be interesting as an idea; as a movie with movement, it's only a static idea.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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HAIR POLLUTION

THE STAGE

The Lincoln Center Repertory Company is finishing its commercially most successful season with yet another artistic disaster, a *Cyrano de Bergerac* that is one of the hundred neediest cases in theatrical history. First, it lacks a protagonist: Richard Basehart, who was to have starred, acquired a mysterious case of chronic laryngitis and dropped out. Secondly, it lacks a stage: without a proscenium arch, none of its illusions truly comes off. Thirdly, it lacks a suitable director: Carl Weber, a graduate of Brecht's Berliner Ensemble has imposed all kinds of alienation effects (one of which may be his lack of talent) on a play that cries out for our emotional involvement. Fourthly, it needs a better English version than James Forsyth's seems to be; I say "seems" because the way the actors have been instructed to alienate the verse into skittering prose that hides its rhymes like a guilty secret, one can't be sure. Fifthly, it needs far more dashing and evocative sets and costumes. Sixthly and desperately, it needs a cast that has charm, bravura, or, at least, proficiency. But with the exception of Dennis Cooney's Christian, a nice combination of loutishness and delicacy of soul, and the Roxane of Suzanne Grossman, at least intermittently alive, the acting was at best nonexistent, at worst frighteningly in evidence. Even the usually able Philip Bosco reduced De Guiche to a nightclub impersonation of John Gielgud.

What *Cyrano* decidedly does not need is Robert Symonds, who inherited the title part, which should have died intestate. Symonds has the voice and vocal mannerisms of a Midwestern mortician, his every quavering syllable dripping with a mixture of sanctimoniousness and embalming fluid. He almost gets away with the farcical passages, but when it comes to pathos, poetry, swashbuckling, or wit, he gives us a Cyrano whose panache has been plucked, and whose exiguity is plainer even than the nose on his face.

The text has been mercilessly cut, but what is left is subjected to the unkindest cut of all: misdirection. Thus the Gascon Cadets are a bunch of sottish bumpkins, the expansive balcony scene is squeezed together into a tiny corner upstage left, the battle scenes are a veritable batrachomyomachy, and Cyrano's death has been staged with Roxane, Le Bret and Ragueneau standing center stage in a row, like three lamp posts, while the dying hero, left to his own devices, cavorts and collapses down front. Yet, as invariably happens, the play got most of the blame. If I may quote my program note for the Caedmon recording of *Cyrano* (with Ralph Richardson as a fine, though somewhat hoary, protagonist), "It is rather more theatre than literature, but in that honorably second category, the play has not been surpassed . . . *Cyrano* can be said to finish ahead of many more ambitious efforts by a nose, a long nose." At Lincoln Center, it does not even show. (*At the Vivian Beaumont*)

As performed last fall at the off-Broadway Public Theatre, *Hair* was an unpretentious, charming, swinging little musical. Not without flaws, it was nevertheless youthful, zestful, tuneful, and brimful of life. In its new, Broadway version, it is merely fulsome. What happened? It would seem that the new producer was hellbent on giving uptowners a sensational revelation of how it *really* is; as part of that endeavor, he hired Tom O'Horgan (of Café La Mama, *Futz* and *Tom Paine* fame) as director. Now, O'Horgan is a sort of off-off-Broadway Peter Brook: clever, chic, and, at bottom, quite commercial. Given his first go at Broadway, he was, like the producer, out to *épater les bourgeois* for all he was worth (which, in my book, is not very much); but, at the same time, care had to be exercised only to titillate the middle class, not to offend it. So, with shock and inoffensiveness as its contradictory aims, *Hair* was off on an internal collision course.

Typically, nudity, perversion, four-letter words were built up, whereas the story with its anti-war but also anti-bourgeois bias was either soft-pedaled or transmogrified into stingless farce, when not, actually, thrown out altogether. Thus there appeared throughout the original *Hair* a burlesque middle-class couple, who were also the hero's parents, but mostly the epitome of smug squareness. These figures have been turned into a transvestite posing as a *bourgeoise* with a *castrato* sidekick; or, in the family scene, a father and mother each in triplicate, the main third of the mother again a man in drag. The wistfully comic and, granted, somewhat uninspired plot has yielded to something worse: pseudoimprovisatory extravaganza. Even such a fetchingly bittersweet number as a girl hippie's lament for a lover who just yipped in and out, surrounded by all those overproduction values, loses its fragile nostalgia. Where Gerald Freedman's original direction really scored, as in a dance number showing, in bizarre superimposition, the history of America and of Vietnam as the tragicomic slaughter of one race or religion by the next in an unending vicious circle, O'Horgan goes out of his way to make his staging gratuitously different, and succeeds in killing the point.

Some members of the original company remain very funny and endearing. Gerome Ragni, one of the authors of the late book and lyrics, is still outrageously droll; though James Rado, his co-author and new to the cast, is pallid. Two of the original girls, Sally Eaton and Shelley Plimpton, are irresistible: the one a nearsighted, concupiscent teddy bear; the other all ethereal poignancy. The new leading lady, Lynn Kellogg, though pretty, has the personality of a corn flake; her sprightly and full-voiced predecessor, Jill O'Hara, is now wasting her gifts on the

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vacuous musical *George M.*, which also preempted the zest of Susan Batson and of Jonelle Allen. Galt MacDermot's music is still delicious, though the new numbers are not up to the old. So it is a *Hair* both overgrown and shorn; but for those who missed it downtown, still guardedly recommended. (*At the Biltmore*) JOHN SIMON

DREAM DEFERRED

ETC.

Public Television seems to be running out of steam, yet another casualty of the Asian priorities. At least one non-commercial station, WNDT, New York, has told its staff to expect cutbacks. This is not the way things were supposed to have gone this year. Twelve months ago, the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television published its "'Program for Action." With Ford Foundation assistance, the Public Broadcast Laboratory (PBL) was created to show, as it said, "'the concept for a new network . . . one that cares [about] the quality of life and the meaning of events." The President sent to Congress his recommendations for massive support of non-commercial television "'to fulfill the potential of each individual in our land." Even the labels changed: educational television passed away, Public Television was born.

Thomas Hoving, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, chairman of the National Citizens' Committee for Public Television, master publicist of American high culture, saw the birth of public broadcasting as a spectacular "that has all the vibrancy and confusion of human process." But at the moment, the spectacular seems to have run its course. We taxpayers and consumers, still queued to see the promised educational feature, continue to subsidize war, pestilence and commercial television, whose billings this year are expected to climb 7 percent above last year's $2 billion.

Waiting, we have watched the Public Broadcast Laboratory try to better the public affairs programming of the commercial networks by mining the resources of academe in pursuit of instant wisdom. The discoveries—in such encounters as the Professors vs. George Wallace—revealed more about the liabilities of amateur journalism than the strengths of the academy.

As time passed, Congress approved the Public Broadcasting Act, created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, but failed to fill its coffers. The President, however, did his bit by appointing 15 educators, artists, bankers and old friends to run the Corporation. The chairman, former Secretary of the Army and former Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Frank Pace Jr., began his tenure by cautioning against early expectation of the

SUMMER SESSIONS

MADONNA HOUSE APOSTOLATE

Summer of hard work, prayer, recreation in depressed rural community and on a farm. Lectures, seminars, open forums. *Inquire*: Registrar, Madonna House, Combermere, Ontario, Canada.

INSTITUTE OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

Georgetown University. June 17-21. Emphasis on the Psalms, Mark's Gospel, and Letters to the Corinthians. Open to priests, college theology professors, high school religion teachers, and C.C.D. instructors. *Inquire*: The Dean, Summer School, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20007.

RELIGION STUDIES PROGRAM

College of Saint Teresa. June 17-July 26. For those with Bachelor's degree and some background in Scripture, Church History and Philosophy of Being. Classes centered on *The Christ*. Special feature: Film Art Workshop, July 26-28. *Inquire*: The Director, Religion Studies Program, College of St. Teresa, Winona, Minn. 55987.

BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

Barat College, Lake Forest, Ill. Three sessions: June 17-28. "A World of Faith in a World Revolution;" June 21-23, "The Search for Truth;" June 24-28, "The Prophetic Element in the Church." *Inquire*: Catholic Adult Education Center, 1307 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605.

INSTITUTE FOR PRIESTS

Stonehill College. June 23-29. Daily lectures and discussions on "Revelation and Inspiration," "Biblical Interpretation," "The Christian and the Old Testament," and "The Lucan Gospel." *Inquire*: Division of Continuing Education, Stonehill College, North Easton, Mass. 02356.

IMMACULATE HEART SUMMER SCHOOL

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vibrancy Mr. Hoving had espied. He saw public television as a gradually growing social asset adding to democracy's strengths and resources in information and the arts (including, one hopes, our educational resources).

Mr. Pace and his group have to face the recently expressed suspicions of those, such as Dr. Ronald Coase of the University of Chicago, who think Public Television's attention to information programming may be partisan. Dr. Coase told the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research that actions of the board members "'will be intertwined with those of the political organization. . . . the chance that their actions will be in the public interest is about as great as the actions of the National Association of Broadcasters will be in the public interest."

Finally, we have seen the old year out with the termination of the Ford Foundation's policy of matching funds raised by educational stations to pay for programming. In short, the past 12 months have been a period of non-renaissance for non-commercial stations: programming initiatives have not shown the full possibilities of Public Television, money sources have dried up, organizational structures have been questioned.

If expectant viewers think money is the main difficulty, the future holds some hope, though not at the $250 million annual target envisioned by the Carnegie Commission. The Public Broadcasting Act called for $10.5 million for new stations and $9 million for the programming and distribution activities of the Corporation. Government budget proposals cut this to $4 million for the Corporation. However, this austere response has been softened by suggestions made by the chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee, Senator Warren Magnuson. The Senator suggested that if an amendment to the Act passes Congress, the full $9 million could be given to the Corporation now. The dodge is that these funds for programming would have to be charged, with Congressional approval, to the 1969 budget. However, there would still be no funds for new stations. That money would become available only in 1969. In the meantime, 30 organizations, wanting more than $35 million, are already in line. Also delayed is implementation of the Act's Title III provisions for a study of television as an educational system able to integrate instruction, data processing and library automation. Planning for the study has begun, but educators, under pressure to meet growing demands for quality education in city schools, are increasingly skeptical of being helped by its recommendations before the due date of June 30, 1969.

However, the Brookings Institution is looking at ways taxation might support Public Television. That study may be as interesting to legislators, as were the methods of ETV support outlined by Brookings' Director of Economic Studies, Joseph A. Pechman, for the Ford Foundation two years ago. The Pechman proposals drew a bead on the gross receipts of commercial broadcasting and reve-

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nues of long-distance (including satellite) communications licensees.

The Ford Foundation is also aware of the Public Television longueurs. However, rumors persist that, as the New York *Times* put it, "'educational TV needs an immediate jolt of confidence" which Ford may be preparing to administer "on a scale vaster that the $20 million it has been putting into the medium annually."

Ford's rival Public Television mentor, the Carnegie Corporation, has also been active. Carnegie delivered a mini-jolt of $250,000 to Eastern Educational Network stations for programming, then joined Ford in funding a new experiment in educational broadcasting, the Children's Television Workshop. The Workshop will transmit daily lessons to stimulate intellectual and cultural growth of disadvantaged preschool youngsters. The $6 million cost will be borne by the foundations, the U.S. Office of Education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Finally, Mr. Hoving's constellation of stars of education, entertainment and the arts, the members of the National Citizens' Committee for Public Television, has begun to cast its light on these glooms. The likes of Kingman Brewster, Paddy Chayefsky, Buckminster Fuller and Maria Tallchief held their first strategy meeting in New Orleans not long ago. Equipped with an impressive array of life-styles, and not without influence, the group intends to publish shortly a *Citizens' Report* to shame America into doing its duty for Public Television. The NCC, indeed, may have been partly responsible for the revision of government attitudes to appropriations for the Corporation. Certainly, like Mr. Hoving himself, the Committee's glitter is hard to overlook.

DAVID WALKER

(David Walker is editor of Yale Reports, which produces radio and TV programs for the University.)

BOOKS

Passionately engaged in a struggle with the unconscious

The Religious Imagination

RICHARD RUBENSTEIN

Bobbs-Merrill, $5.95

ROGER A. JOHNSON

One of the older legends of Genesis tells how the patriarch Jacob acquired his new name, 'Israel': God gave him that name after his all-night wrestling bout with a demon of the dark (Genesis 32:22-32). Richard Rubenstein writes as if he were Jacob, fresh from the conflict and baptism at the River Jabbok. He is a man passionately engaged in a struggle with the dark and aggressive forces of the unconscious. Like Jacob, he will not let these powers of violence go until he wins from them a blessing. Like Jacob, Rubenstein struggles with a God who is sometimes demon of the night and sometimes the living God of Israel, mostly a pervasive conflation of the two. Like Jacob, Rubenstein seeks the blessing of a new name, a new historic identity and self-understanding as he stands at the threshold of a promised land.

In his case, it is not the River Jabbok on the boundaries of Israel, but the secular future which beckons to the modern Jew. For Rubenstein has found the myths and rites of orthodox Judaism, which had performed humanizing functions in the past, ineffective if not impotent in the present. He therefore invites the contemporary Jew, and all others, to accompany him into the depths of the human psyche as disclosed in the myths of Sigmund Freud and the rites of the analytic couch. Here Rubenstein finds resources for a new identity, born of confrontation with the demons of the dark, and more adequate for the present than the rites of sublimation given with traditional religion.

In his first book, *After Auschwitz*, Rubenstein developed his Freudian interpretation of Judaism in the form of a theology of contemporary history. Auschwitz was presented as a decisive turning point in history. After Auschwitz, the Jew could no longer believe in an historical God: to do so would be tantamount to confessing that God willed the destruction of six million Jews. After Auschwitz, the Jew no longer dared to believe in his own Election: for it was precisely the myth of the Elect One, in both its Jewish and Christian forms, which helped make Auschwitz possible. Rubenstein thus presented Auschwitz as an historic event dividing the age of faith from the age of "the Death of God." In actuality, however, Rubenstein was more interested in Auschwitz as a symbol of man's eternal nature than as an event of recent history. For Auschwitz made manifest on a cosmic scale the violence of those aggressive instincts which psychoanalysis unveiled to the individual. Rubenstein did not write to memorialize the dead at Asuchwitz, but to heal the psyches of the living.

The psychoanalytic focus of Rubenstein's thought has become more explicit in his second book, *The Religious Imagination*. Rubenstein here attempts to interpret a major portion of Jewish tradition in terms of psychoanalytic categories. The subject matter for this volume is the Aggadah: the tales and homilies told by rabbis during a two-thousand-year span of Jewish history. For his source material, Rubenstein de-

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pends upon the scholarship of Louis Ginzberg, who first compiled in a continuous narrative the legends gathered from a large quantity of Jewish sources. Rubenstein sees the legend to be particularly expressive of the latent psychological concerns of a people. By means of a Freudian analysis of this literature, he hopes to disclose "the underlying motivations of Jewish religious sentiments" or "a psychological image of the Jewish people as a whole."

In addition, Rubenstein also plans to revise Freud's theory of religion. In *Totem and Taboo*, Freud set forth the main outline of his account of the origins of religion. Religion and civilization were born when a band of brothers murdered and devoured their tyrannical father in order to win sexual access to the females of the tribe. Because the brothers never acknowledged this cannibalistic parricide, the "primal crime" became embedded in the "unconscious memory" of the whole human species. Guilt, anxiety, and the desire to fulfill the harsh will of a Father-God were the result. Freud saw Judaism to be a particularly clear example of a religion rooted in the Oedipal conflict of father and son. The fearful law-giving deity of Judaism was simply the murdered father interiorized (or the murdered Moses), and the circumcision rite expressed the castration anxieties which the rebel sons felt before this father.

Rubenstein does not repudiate Freud's theory, but simply amplifies it. Before the Oedipal stage is the oral stage; before the fear of the father is the anxiety evoked by the mother. Freud himself had come to place less stress upon the Oedipal conflict and more emphasis upon the pre-Oedipal mother relationship in his later writings. However, Freud had not worked out the implications of this revision in his general theory of psychogenetic development for his theory of religion.

It is this lag in Freudian theory which Rubenstein intends to correct. He finds the rabbinic legends to provide ample materials for disclosing the religious anxieties characteristic of older maternal religions. The Great Mother goddess played a double role. She was the permissive, loving one and she was the "tomb, womb, and the earth." She was the source of all vitality and the ultimate threat of annihilation. Against the backdrop of the Great Mother religion, Judaism appeared in a new light. While men had to relinquish the sexual freedom allowed by the Great Mother for the discipline of a law-giving father, they were also relieved of the unlimited anxiety evoked by a female deity. In this perspective, Judaism appeared to Rubenstein to be a religion of ego defense as well as a religion of superego: a religion productive of ego integration as well as a religion productive of guilt.

By means of this revision of Freud, Rubenstein is able to develop a more positive interpretation of Judaism. It is important to note, as he also does, that his interpretation falls firmly within the limits of Freudian theory: "To argue that the role of the mother is more decisive than the father's role in the formation of religion is to refine Freudian theory, not negate it." Unlike Freud, Rubenstein's version of Judaism may be affirmed as a part of one's past. Like Freud, however, it is a Judaism which belongs only to the past. It is not a Judaism which exercizes a claim of its own upon the imagination and interpretation of man in the present.

As might be gathered, Rubenstein is more reliable as an interpreter of Freud than as a guide to the Jewish imagination. He is too committed to the Freudian schema of interpretation to allow the materials of the legends to offer their own meaning. Any motif resembling a Freudian theory or myth immediately takes on that form and function, regardless of its real complexities. The serpent, for example, is a figure in these legends who envies Adam's status in the cosmos, plots his death, and desires Eve. As a result, Rubenstein interprets the serpent as a kind of Oedipus figure locked in Promethean combat with Adam.

While suggestive, this interpretation wholly neglects the actual relationship of Adam and the serpent in the legends. The serpent is not Adam's son biologically, nor are the two related psychologically in terms of a father-son model. Instead they are peers. Indeed, it is precisely their relationship of near equality which provokes the serpent to envy: for the serpent is king of all the animals just as Adam is king of the whole creation. If such a story is set in a familial context, as Rubenstein proposes, then it must be understood as a tale of sibling rivalry, like Cain and Abel or the Joseph saga. More likely, the context is societal in which the fathers of the diverse species struggle for their positions in the cosmos. In this context, it serves as a kind of morality story warning of the dangers of covetousness.

While I am dubious of Rubenstein's interpretation of Judaism, there is a powerful passion and wealth of insight which fills both his books. To read Rubenstein is to share in the blessing he has won. To be sure, he writes more as a loyal disciple of Freud than a critical scholar of Judaism. But even Jacob limped after he left the River Jabbok.

A Change of Skin

CARLOS FUENTES

Farrar, Straus, $6.95

KATHY McHALE

In March of 1967, this novel received the *Biblioteca Breve* Prize from a Spanish publishing house, Seix Barral. A month later, it was banned by official Spanish censors for being "pornographic, communistic, anti-Christian, anti-German and pro-Jewish." One wonders if the Old Testament qualifies for publication in Spain! The book has been expertly translated into English by Sam Hileman who also translated the author's best known work, *The Death of Artemio Cruz*.

Fuentes is a Mexican and one of Latin America's foremost younger writers. Yet the Mexican setting of *A Change of Skin* is the least effective element in the novel. Most Mexican intellectuals and artists share a collection of attitudes toward their fellow countrymen—most poetically expressed by Octavio Paz in *Labyrinth of Solitude*—which are by now clichés. On this subject, Fuentes is thoroughly unoriginal.

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That said, it is nonetheless true that the book is a genuine work of art and that Mexico is an ideal setting.

There are four main characters and a Narrator: a failed Mexican poet, his American Jewish wife (or is she, too, a Mexican?), a Sudeten German (once an architect in a Nazi concentration camp), a young Mexican girl named Isabel, and a Narrator who is participant, observer, interpreter and who suggests in the end that he is the creator of the other four. The characters set out on a car trip from Mexico City and end up in Cholula, ancient seat of Aztec power—of which huge pyramids remain as cold testimony. One discovers that the dry, slightly musty air about these characters is deliberate, for it develops that they were created out of the moments, mementos, secrets and histories stashed in an old trunk which the Narrator bought "from an old Jew near Tacuba." It is a novel within a novel which ends with a play within the novel.

Time and space flow rhythmically back and forth across the pages. The reader, unable to settle in one place or moment, begins to view the dialogue as hung suspended—like the movie screens in a multimedia show in San Francisco's Fillmore Auditorium. Indeed, music offers clearer insight into this book than conventional literary criticism. Its structure more nearly resembles a pageant, complete with choral counterpoint, leitmotifs, phrases and vignettes repeated like single reminiscent notes or chords, opening scenes reappearing at the end, litanies creating ominous dimensions in otherwise mundane scenes.

The plot is extremely complex, resembling an elaborate series of chess patterns overlaid and intertwined, "fitting" by means of bizarre coincidences, mysterious puzzles, events which ripple outward so that only when the outer edges are grasped can one retrace their meaning back to the center. The result is a structure as formal as a ritual, as fluid as a dream. Technically, the book is often dazzling and is meant to be, I think, for reality is structured so as to seem illusion, dreams fade, turn corners, and suddenly become flesh and blood. "The illusion of rationality must be preserved in order to preserve the illusion of life. Our hall of mirrors again." And note, a *hall* of mirrors, for to hold a single mirror up to reality would be perverse and, once we had discovered the key, a bore. It is the multiple distortions of reality, wavering in Mexico's dry heat, which makes this book so difficult and exciting.

Every element is tightly directed toward the author's central insight. For example, Fuentes deals with violence indirectly; only once is the reader witness to the act graphically described. Otherwise pain and deaths consist of screaming, moaning voices or bleeding, stinking bodies. Franz, the Sudeten German, confesses to the girl Isabel the story of his life as an architect attached to the fortress of Terezin in Czechoslovakia. As the story drifts out of Franz like a dream, its horror seeps slowly into the reader's imagination. The effect is in a way more powerful

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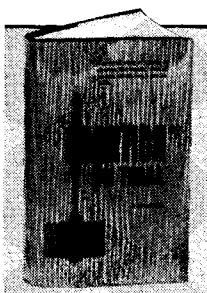

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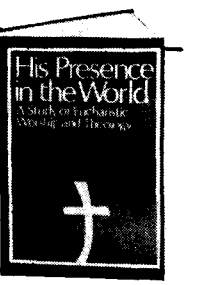

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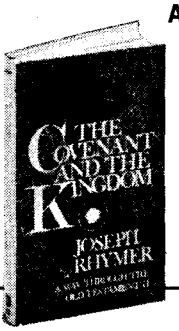

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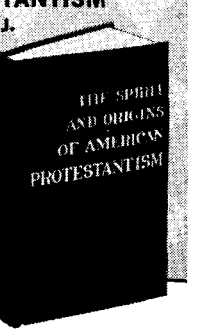

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than even the Allied films of the concentration camps because the films produce an immediate reaction of revulsion, hence their impact is superficial. Franz's story sinks deep and haunts. The violence in the novel thus shifts between symbol and flesh, creating reality in the tension between the two. Violence and murder mount; dream becomes nightmare.

For Javier, the poet, and for Franz, freedom is isolation, solitary creation, and creation is demonic. "Full liberty is sickness in us." "The other face of creation is apocalypse." Such pseudo-Nietzschean notions are what produced Nazism, what drove Franz and what Javier dreamed. Who is guilty? In a play which judges, interprets and reflects the novel, Javier accuses himself: "what was action in him [Franz] in me was only possibility, latency, . . . I have been a kind of larva Franz." For Fuentes the answer is—neither and both. "The just and the unjust are both guilty. Neither is innocent. Justice isn't innocent, merely just." When reality is illusion and vice-versa, crimes dreamed and crimes committed are the same. It thus becomes clear that while Franz is a stereotype and historically inaccurate at that, Fuentes offers us a deeper truth. Franz was efficient: "such professionalism is invaluable," observes a character bitterly, "more strategic hamlets are needed in Vietnam. [He] is needed urgently in all the prisons and death rows and crematoriums that still must be built. In Cambodia. . . . In South Carolina."

The novel weaves humor, sex, drugs, and God skillfully, delicately, tightly into wild, rich hallucinatory, theatrical and cinematic patterns, And that, you must agree, is a rare treat these days.

"Everything has to be lived and relived." Here lies the gift of this novel. It is technically superior, complex as music, profusely imaginative, and serious, but it is the jarring uncertainty of a new, richer perspective for which we should be most grateful to Fuentes. "For at bottom we are most contented with what appears to be, with what

RECENT AND NOTABLE

Synod '67 By Francis X. Murphy, C.S.S.R. and Gary MacEoin. Bruce. $4.95. Murphy and MacEoin are old hands in Rome and this study, the first extensive treatment of the synod in Rome in late 1967, shows their sharp eye and their expertise. A very useful book for keeping up with Rome and the Bishops.

Alarms and Visions. By Stephen C. Rose. Association Press (paper), $1.95. In *The Grass Roots Church*, Stephen C. Rose established himself as one of the more imaginative, but concrete Protestant church reformers, proposing in some detail how the church could make itself felt at all levels. This new collection of sundry essays gives the flavor of his way of thinking: pungent, ecumenical, irreverent and generally unerring in its aim.

Celibacy. By E. Schillebeeckx, O.P. Sheed & Ward, $3.95; Celibacy: The Necessary Option. Edited by George H. Frein. Herder and Herder, $4.95. The celibacy books keep pouring from the presses. Any priest who tried to read them all would have no time left for marriage. Father Schillebeeckx' book, as one would expect, is scholarly, existential and eschatological, but not, for all that, overly abstract; he sees the real problems and puts them in a sharp theological focus. Frein's is an especially good collection of articles, all of them stemming from the 1967 Notre Dame Symposium on Clerical Celibacy. The scope of the book, with historical, theological and practical articles, gives it special strength. Among the contributors are John T. Noonan, J.V.L. Casserley and Ignatius Hunt.

Building the Human. By Robert O. Johann, S.J. Herder and Herder, $4.50. Father Johann has brought together a number of previously published essays, mainly from *America*, but has done so in such a way as to show the thread which has bound them all together. It is an interesting book; Father Johann has been considerably influenced by American philosophy, and this influence shows to good effect.

Essays in Seminary Education. By John Tracy Ellis. Fides, $5.95. Curiously, talk about seminary reforms seems to have died down in the past year or so; but the subject itself is, of course, still alive. Monsignor Ellis brings to it what he usually brings to important discussions: a useful historical perspective and a wealth of intriguing historical details.

American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment. By Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock. Univ. of California Press, $6.95. This is the first of three planned volumes attempting to bring empirical data to bear on religious commitment. Here, Stark and Glock deal with the beliefs, practices and emotions of American adults; a major conclusion from their data is that "the new reformation in religious thought reflects the fact that a demythologized modernism is overwhelming the traditional, Christ-centered, mystical faith."

New Catholic Encyclopedia. 15 Vols. McGraw-Hill, $550. Anyone brave enough to put together a Catholic encyclopedia at this juncture in Church history deserves a medal before the work is even looked at. Inevitably, some of the entries, primarily those dealing with ecclesiology, will fail to reflect some of the newer currents; there is nothing, for instance, about the "underground church" in these pages. Nonetheless, this is an extremely valuable reference tool in a multiplicity of areas. For those libraries and institutions which can afford it ($450 for institutions), it is the best reference work available and well worth the price.

REVIEWERS

ROGER A. JOHNSON teaches in the Department of Biblical History at Wellesley.

KATHY MC HALE is a free-lance writer living on the West Coast.

JAMES W. CAREY is a visiting professor in Pennsylvania State's School of Journalism.

ROBERT CORMIER is the author of *Take Me Where The Good Times Are* (Macmillan).

RICHARD M. ELMAN is the author of *Ill-At-Ease in Compton* (Pantheon).

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goes on monotonously day after day and by its repetitiveness earns, and perhaps deserves, the name of reality." Probably in all ages, but most certainly today, it has become crucial to realize that "you pays your dream and you takes your reality."

The Committee

WALTER GOODMAN

Farrar, Straus, $10

JAMES W. CAREY

One of the few political pleasures of the late 1960's is the eclipse of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. No guarantees exist that the eclipse is permanent, for the forces which fueled the committee have scarcely disappeared. But the abortive and ludicrous hearings into the peace movement and the Progressive Labor Movement in 1966 revealed that the vaunted power of the committee to hector witnesses, to intimidate CP members and fellow-travelers, and to inflame public prejudices have ebbed, for now. Witnesses in the Vietnam hearings played on the increasing legal weakness of the committee, namely its inability to make contempt citations stick, and, more importantly, on our present boredom with congressional investigations. The spectacle of Joe Pool attempting to bully some assorted youths was merely comic.

All this allows one to read Walter Goodman's marvelously detailed history of the committee with a sense of anthropological detachment. One can now look at the committee hearings as a thirty-year status degradation ceremony through which the declining nativists punished the bearers of the new urban culture. The hearings were rites of passage through which apostates were cleansed and restored to grace and undesirables excommunicated from the sacramental center of American politics.

Beginning with its initial hearings in 1938, the committee brought under attack those institutions which threatened traditional Americanism: the unions, science, the universities, the National Council of Churches, the media—particularly the newer media of radio, television and film—and modern bureaucracy generally. Of course, in all these institutions real Communists, former CP members and fellow-travelers could be found, but the joy with which the committee greeted the repentant sinner gave the game away. It was not subversion that was under attack; that was merely the excuse. The real target was modern times and the doom it spelled for traditional rural, Protestant culture.

While Goodman coaches this interpretation of the committee's history, a serious reservation, of which he is also aware, should be entered. Liberals are all too willing to identify anti-democratic elements in America with declining nativist culture and upwardly mobile but insecure ethnic groups, thereby exempting themselves from complicity in the wave of rightist reaction that opened up in the '30s. In fact, liberals in the '20s and '30s led witch-hunting expeditions against conservative elements, particularly the business community, and justified them in grandly moralistic terms. As Goodman points out, it was Professor Felix Frankfurter and Senator Hugo Black who defended the prerogatives of congressional investigating committees, and liberals are as disturbed as conservatives when their enemies protect themselves with the Fifth Amendment. Witch-hunting happens to be a perennial part of American politics, a fact liberals sometimes conceal by fastening anti-democratic labels on nativist groups. Goodman understands this, and *The Committee* is as much a history of the American left since 1930 as of the right; of stupidity, duplicity and intolerance on both sides; and of a moralizing tendency to make partisan heroes, from Alger Hiss to Martin Dies, out of dubious political actors.

One of the major ironies of the house committee is that it originated largely through the efforts of a New York congressman, Samuel Dickstein, who wanted a weapon to combat anti-Semitism and investigate the German-American Bund. However, after a one-day look into the Bund, HUAC began to indulge its un-

What happened inside the Hall of Broken Heads?

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quenchable passion, the unions, and through the unions the CP, and through the CP its real enemy, the entire superstructure of institutions created by the New Deal. HUAC kept up the hunt through World War II, though with reduced influence (it did contribute to the sacking of Japanese-Americans), and it emerged from the war as a permanent committee with a renewed dedication to the dismantling of the modern world. Under J. Parnell Thomas, it managed to exploit the cold war, and, not so incidentally, to deepen it. The apogee came in 1948 with the emergence of Richard Nixon, the triumphs of the Hiss case, the investigations of scientists, and the assumption of the mantle of American defender against the Russian menace. Thereafter, the committee went into decline. Not, of course, because its members had a change of heart—that has not occurred to this day—nor because America tired of investigations; but because its mission, its witnesses, and its headlines had to be shared now with Senators Jenner and McCarran, and our preeminent investigator, Joseph McCarthy. The committee came off rather the worse for the bargain.

Goodman vividly brings to life those phantasmagoric days of 1953 and 1954 when the country indulged in an orgy of headhunting—an orgy all the more noticeable because the new Eisenhower Administration, by its own inactivity, kept the drama of politics squarely focused on the hearings. One more legacy of those years.

The committee, like all congressional committees, is remarkably dependent upon the character and personality of its chairman. Providing its own rule of political succession, the committee has always been headed by characterless, bellicose men. Even in the case where this was not true, that of Francis Walter, the committee managed to reverse the rule that political abilities rise to the level of the office with the rule that political abilities sink to the level of the committee. Chairmen aside, the committee's history is one long atrocity tale. The characters change but the scenario is undeviating: allegations, hearings, contempt citations, reports, requests for more staff and budget; and yet never a significant conclusion, rarely a conviction, and, with the exception of the Mundt-Nixon bill, never a piece of legislation. Somehow Goodman manages to breathe life into this sad tale, partly by the deftness with which he characterizes the participants: Louis Budenz, Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, Herbert Philbrick, Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis, Alger Hiss, Nathan Silvermaster, John Rankin, J. Parnell Thomas, Martin Dies, Joe Pool, Harold Velde, the Hollywood Ten, J. B. Matthews. Never have committee, investigator, witness and apostate so richly deserved one another's company.

Like any good piece of historical writing, this book sharpens one's nose to the scents of the present and the future. The disarray of the contemporary left is the product, in part, of the distrust created by the committee and the betrayal so often revealed in its hearings. Moreover, the book turns one's attention to the next round of exorcism that awaits the solution of the Vietnam war. Depending upon the settlement, it may come from the left or the right, but we very likely will have to live through it all over again, perhaps this time not so luckily. That the young may not be immune to the apostasy of the old has been demonstrated by Philip Luce Abott, who appeared before the committee in 1963 as a hostile witness defending the rights of students to travel to Cuba and in 1966 as a paid sneak condemning the very students he had protected three years earlier. It is a time to prepare for another 30-year travail. Goodman gives a historical lesson and a necessary premonition.

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Nowhere Man

THOMAS CURLEY

Holt, Rinehart, $5.95

ROBERT CORMIER

There isn't any doubt that someday Thomas Curley will write a really important novel. He has the necessary talent and compassion, and the understanding of what makes character tick. But something goes askew in this, his third novel. Perhaps he has compassion for the wrong people. Certainly, the protagonist of *Nowhere Man* is exactly nowhere, man—one of the dullest characters in any of this season's novels. Hamilton Norris is the kind of figure who was provocative a while back: the Catholic convert who constantly questions himself, his faith, the world around him. And, of course, he's involved in an adulterous love affair. Fine, in the hands of Graham Greene a few years ago. But at the present time and as written by Curley, the plot is a bland, businessman's menu.

The sad part of Curley's failure is that he is utterly dedicated, intent on making a comment about a lot of things that cry out for constant comment: the fragility of the American bubble; the burden of the man of conscience; the ravages of love and lust and loneliness. Unhappily, the hero, who explores these matters for him, is a complete fathead—although Curley obviously sees him differently. Norris is 40 years old, a teacher in a Catholic school in New York City, a sometime poet. His wife died in an accident a few years back and he has a daughter who lives somewhere in the midwest.

Norris is the kind of man who looks out the window and remains silent when someone presses him with an important question. (The silence possibly indicates inner torment but strikes the reader as simple emptiness.) He says long morning prayers, addressing Our Father personally—one such prayer takes up two pages and contains such offerings as: "Secondly; Father, let us not, in our flight from boredom, perish by the Charybdis of hate. We cherish our dignity so much

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that we fear ridicule more than evil; and therefore, as we put the things of childhood behind us . . ." Fine and dandy in an essay, but a morning prayer?

A love letter he dashes off contains such lines as: "I want to live poor and in some respects you'll have to share my poverty. We shan't be destitute, but compared to our friends and acquaintances, we'll be shabby genteel. I am absolutely convinced that it is not poverty but the fear of poverty and the shame of poverty that is despicable. The American fear and shame and hatred of poverty is this country's most contemptible vice. I beg you not to succumb to it." Again, fine comment, but a love letter?

Ordinarily, taking snatches of prayers and letters out of context is unfair to the author but in this case the quoted material shows Curley's serious concern and the hero's sophomoric manner. As far as the plot is concerned, Hamilton is involved with Mary Monroe who has fled to New York from the New England town of Thatcher. She has fled not only her husband and three sons but her lover. She and Norris live in the same rooming house and ultimately become lovers. As the novel opens, she is carrying Hamilton's child and is considering divorcing her husband. Hamilton is looking out the window, wondering what he ought to do about it.

Before Hamilton decides what to do (and by that time, the reader couldn't care less), he gropes for the meaning of his life and faith; is betrayed by a friend; loses one job and quits another; gets drunk, etc. All this activity adds up to very little. Naturally, the other characters are invaded by Norris' fatuousness. Because Norris is the core of the novel and he is a failure as a character, everyone else suffers. Once in a while, a subsidiary character leaps to life—for instance, Frank Harrington, his longtime friend-enemy. But, in the end, even Harrington fails to sustain the novel.

What concerns us is not this particular novel or these particular characters. We are concerned with the author himself who has so many important things to say if only he can create compelling people to say all the things. The action of *Nowhere Man* takes place in 1963 and there is a curious air of datedness about it—the world moves so fast. Let's hope Curley is now bringing forth a book that will express all the richness of his talent, in today's setting. If he had to get Hamilton Norris out of his system before settling down to the major work which he is capable of, then this particular failure would be worthwhile, after all.

Medical Aid and Other Poems

DONALD JONES

Univ. of Nebraska, $1.50

RICHARD M. ELMAN

Blake bore witness "how the youthful Harlot's curse/blasts the newborn Infant's tear/and blights with plagues the Marriage hearse," and his language —although flagrant—was appropriate to the poverty of a flagrant era. But in our age poverty, like the witness which is charity, has been bureaucratized, and a curious flatness overtakes our language, the gestures by which we express our indignation.

Such a flatness is imitated poetically in the work of Donald Jones, but it doesn't overtake the work. "Myopic from close reading/and rattled by apparatus/for breaking down the text," Mr. Jones (as he indicates through a prologue in verse) gave up his career as a graduate student of poetry to become a welfare worker in one of our large cities. He soon found himself bearing witness through his poetry to the bureaucratization of the poor. In *Medical Aid,* he writes of his "clients" in a flat factual free verse which mixes *org*-speech and other kinds of non-descriptive officialese in its efforts to overtake the poetic.

Of one such client in a hospital we learn: ". . . her look paused idle and candid,/somewhat amused to have/a visitor take in her charms./I cleared my throat and out/at the intake office I learned/of her gonorrhea, confirmed/support by means visible,/and to keep old Mercy solvent,/let the State pick up the tab,/remembering

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with a twitch/she'd signed her claim with my pen." That poem, incidentally, is called The Ward She Lay In which suggests through its heavy mocking irony of the diseased young whore reclining like Shakespeare's Cleopatra that Mr. Jones had kept with him more of English poetry than he would like to let on.

But the strength of Jones' work is not to be found in his mockery of sublime poetry; it emerges from some of the baring of reality which such a technique permits. It is as if all the dossiers in the file drawers had been sprung open and the dusty voices of ghosts were talking to us. Each little poem in the Medical Aid sequence is a case history detailing both the unique conditions of poverty and Jones' muted but unique responses to them. Tension is created by the poet's ability to record the merely bureaucratic without sounding banal and by his unheroic efforts to humanize that charity which is his daily chore and obligation.

In this space it is not possible to quote more than one or two passages which give the savor of what he is about. "Old widow crazed with hunger, you came in crippled," Jones writes, "your backcountry eyes bright and furtive, your voice/careening between a whimper and wild thin laughter." And again: "That bedridden blindman who spoke/no word of English, cared for/by his self-effacing son,/on that visit after work/greeted me with strange joy/as if I were the sun." Finally there is the poem "Special Care Somewhere" —a caseload, a catalogue of grotesques; they suffer the guilt of poverty and inflict that guilt upon their "worker," Jones, in turn.

Not all of the poems in *Medical Aid* are equally fastidious in the claims which they make on reality. The second half of the book contains, for the most part, conventional, well-worked poems on a variety of subjects by a graduate student of English. The *Medical Aid* sequence gives the book its distinctiveness. It suggests that Whitman's democratic vision has not died—even if the bardic spirit has turned just a bit rancid.

SAIGON JAIL

(Continued from page 251)

asking for their complete surrender. This, of course, is completely out of the question; it is even more unrealistic now after the Tet offensive.

Contrary to some analysts, I have always believed that the last Tet offensive against the towns was *not* the General Offensive predicted by NLF strategists. The Tet offensive was only a part of a general plan of attack for Winter-Summer 1968, and was designed primarily to assure the NLF's complete control over the countryside. But even the Tet attacks had disastrous consequences for the Saigon government: all rural pacification efforts for the past two years were destroyed, physically, as well as psychologically; public services were severely disrupted at all levels; large numbers of lower-level public officials were murdered or kidnapped. Seven weeks after the Tet offensive, Saigon officials were still unable to determine the number of officials killed, kidnapped or missing. Economic consequences were especially serious, with vast areas of the cities destroyed and thousands rendered jobless; the population's purchasing power no longer exists; the aid establishments no longer function normally, importers no longer sell their foreign goods. And the population is becoming further antagonized and disenchanted—a factor important to the NLF in its next General Offensive and General Uprising which will probably take place around September-October 1968 to achieve maximum impact on the American elections.

Peace is now imperative. In order to neutralize the more than 188,000 men of the NLF who are girding for the third phase of the insurgency, the allies need ten times that number. With the crisis in gold, domestic and economic problems, it is vital that President Johnson desist from sacrificing America's vital interests and those of the Vietnamese for the interests of the clique surrounding the two Saigon generals. In short, the United States must review completely its entire political and military strategy in this country. A negotiated settlement must rest on the mutually recognized necessity for a coalition government, which means that the United States will have to dissociate itself from the Thieu-Ky regime.

America would still be able to retain some bases in South Vietnam; it would not have to sacrifice its leadership role in Southeast Asia, as it is doing now in its pursuit of an unattainable military victory. Freed from its enormous military commitments, the U.S. would then be able to fill the power vacuum being left by the British in Singapore, strengthen its position in Thailand and the Philippines, Japan and India. Both Vietnams, moreover, will need U.S. economic assistance after the war in their efforts to rebuild.

However, none of this will materialize so long as the U.S. is saddled with Thieu and Ky who, despite their rhetorical homage to the cause of national unity, are continuing their internecine conflicts.

Far from providing the people with a psychological uplift, the government has led to a series of disappointments. The Congress, which resulted from the rigged elections, scarcely represents the people; many are little more than agents of Marshall Ky; not one can be called a political leader.

Is there no way out? President Johnson has let it be known that the South Vietnamese must take more initiative in pursuing their end of the war. But the United States must take the initiative in pursuing the road to peace—there is no one in the Thieu-Ky clique who would dare or even understand how. Moreover, there is still the necessity for a legitimate and elected government in Saigon, one that would live up to its pledges to pursue a negotiated settlement. Such a settlement would lead to a coalition that should include NLF members in a quarter to a half of the ministerial offices. Elections must be supervised by either the International Control Commission or the U.N.

As soon as a negotiated peace is truly countenanced by the belligerents, the rest will come, and the people of Vietnam will regain hegemony over their land.

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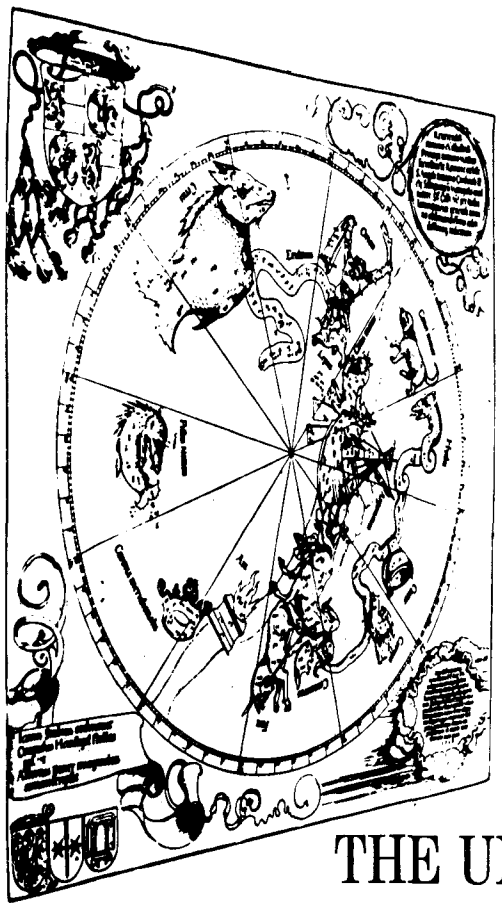

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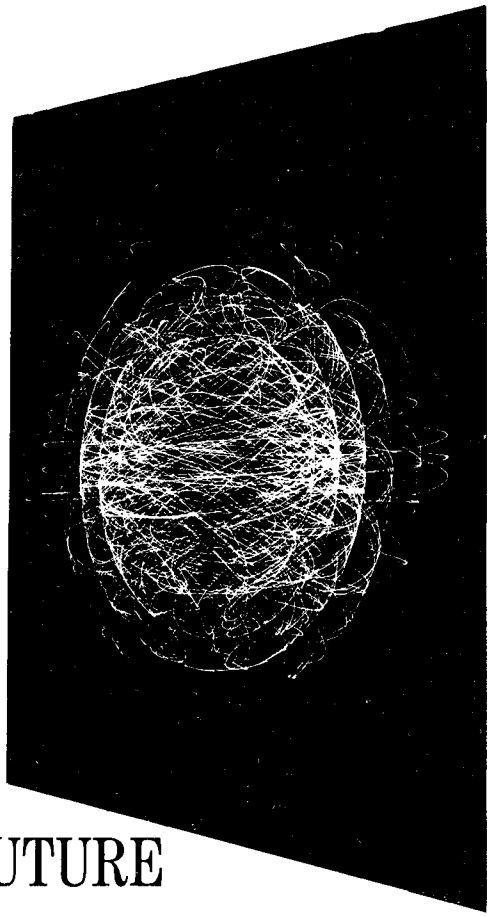

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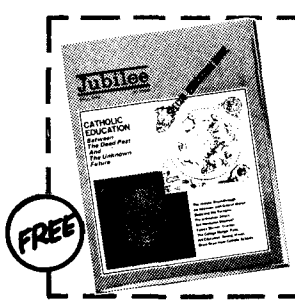

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